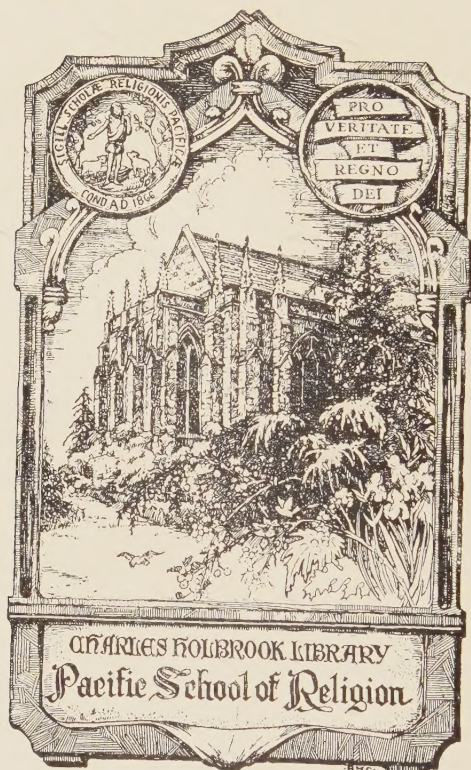


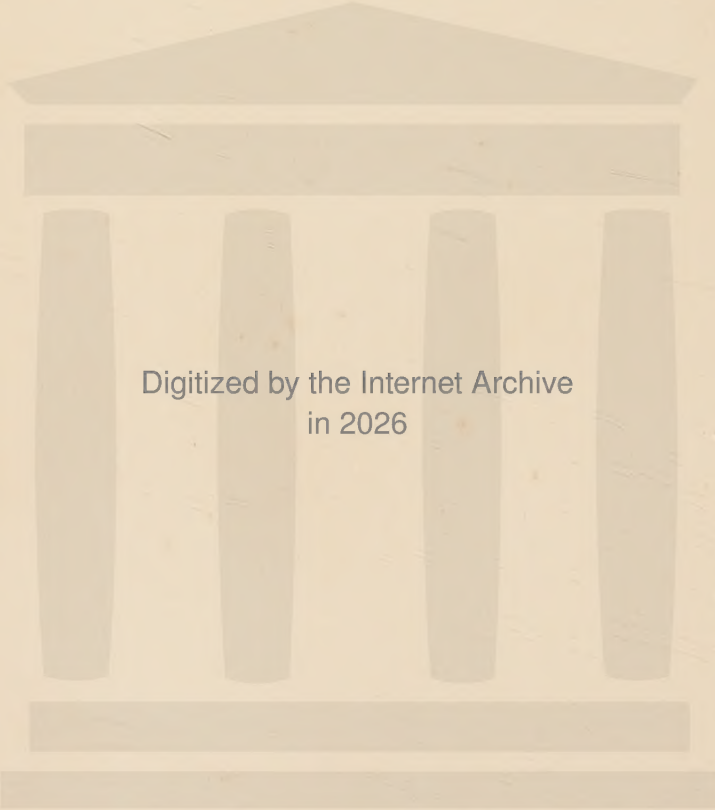






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Hickdook Lashon Aukodesh

Grammar of the Holy Tongue, and  
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P R O P O S A L S

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# Hebrew Grammar,



ROMAN ESSAY to bring the *Hebrew Grammar* into English with a Design to facilitate the Instruction of all those that are desirous to obtain a clear Idea of the primitive Language by their own Study, in order to their more distinct Acquaintance with the Sacred Oracles of the *Old Testament*, according to the Original. Whereto is annexed the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Apostle's Creed*, Translated into HEBREW, and an Alphabetical Catalogue of the Nouns & Verbs that consist of more than three Radicals; finding the Roots of which, there is no Rule in any Grammar. Drawn for the sake of those that are willing to have a farther Knowledge in this ancient Language. A Work altogether New. Collected from the Bible with Care & Diligence. All

By

יהודה מוניש

JUDAH MONIS, M. A

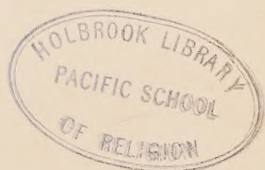
Teacher of the Hebrew Tongue at *Harvard College* in *Cambridge, New-England.*

THE Grammar will be considerably larger than *Schickard's*; with Conjugations, Schemes of Tenses & Moods of all denominations, and Quotations at large; and will be Printed on the same Paper with these Proposals, or the like. It shall be afforded to Subscribers (Bound) for *Eight Shillings* a Book, and they that Subscribe for Six Books shall have a Seventh Grammar.

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PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
NUMBER 22



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1914





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No. 22~~



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BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

# AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## LIST OF OFFICERS.

### *President:*

DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE, Albany, N. Y.;  
PROF. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, New York;  
REV. DR. DAVID PHILIPSON, Cincinnati, O.;  
HON. JULIAN W. MACK, Chicago, Ill.

### *Corresponding Secretary:*

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG, 38 Park Row, New York.

### *Recording Secretary:*

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM, New York.

### *Treasurer:*

HON. N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS, New York.

### *Curator:*

LEON HÜHNER, New York.

### *Additional Members of the Executive Council:*

HON. MAYER SULZBERGER, Philadelphia, Pa.;  
PROF. J. H. HOLLANDER, Baltimore, Md.;  
HON. SIMON WOLF, Washington, D. C.;  
DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, New York;  
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PROF. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Philadelphia, Pa.;  
DR. A. S. W. ROSENBAACH, Philadelphia, Pa.;  
HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, New York, *ex-officio*,  
as Past President of the Society.





## OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.



## PREFACE.

The committee on publication, in charge of the preparation and editing of the present volume, is composed of: Albert M. Friedenberg, Esq., chairman, Prof. Alexander Marx, and Dr. Joseph Jacobs. Dr. Cyrus Adler, President, is *ex-officio* a member of the committee.

Exigencies of space, and other considerations, demanded that the following pages be confined only to a selection of the many interesting papers presented at the past three annual meetings of the Society. Mr. Friedman's paper was read at the annual meeting held at Philadelphia in 1911. The papers of Messrs. Friedenberg, Silber, Samuel, Hühner and Pool date from the annual meeting of 1912, held at Boston, while those of Messrs. Jacobs and Neuman were submitted to the Society at the annual meeting in New York, in 1913. The papers by Messrs. Seeligmann and Oppenheim were read at the annual meeting of the Society held in 1914 at Philadelphia.

It is believed that the detailed information provided in the table of contents, under the rubrics "Notes" and "Necrology," will add to the usefulness of this feature of the present volume. It is intended to make this, from now on, a rule governing the arrangement and make-up of the *Publications* of the Society.





## TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING.

The twentieth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the vestry of Temple Israel, corner Commonwealth Avenue and Blandford Street, in Boston, Mass. It began on the afternoon of February 11, 1912, continued on the evening of that day and concluded on the morning of February 12, 1912. The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was prevented from attending by indisposition; in his absence and that of all the vice-presidents at the opening of the first session the chair was taken by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, recording secretary. The corresponding secretary, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, acted as recording secretary.

On behalf of the committee on local arrangements Mr. Leon Russell Eyges delivered a brief address of welcome. At the evening session on Sunday the chairman presented Dr. Adler's presidential address, "Twenty Years of the American Jewish Historical Society," an exhaustive résumé of the history of the Jews in America as embodied in the twenty volumes of *Publications* of the Society, and added some interesting reminiscences of his own concerning the organization meeting at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, on June 7, 1892.

The officers presented their annual reports. The corresponding secretary, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, stated that the Society now had 343 members—3 honorary, 45 corresponding, and 295 active members (of whom 4 were life members)—a net increase of 30 members over the preceding report. During the year 1 corresponding and 3 active members died, 5 resigned and 1 was dropped for non-payment of dues. The executive council elected Professor Werner Sombart, of Berlin, author of "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben," a corresponding member and 40 new active members of the Society.

He announced that, to represent the Society at a preliminary conference of various learned societies to discuss a proposed "Dictionary of American National Biography," the president had appointed Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, recording secretary, and that Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool was the delegate of the Society at the silver-wedding celebration of President and Mrs. William H. Taft, in Washington, on June 19, 1911. Publication No. 20 had been issued and distributed at the end of October, 1911.

The curator, Mr. Leon Hühner, submitted his report and, in addition, reported for the committee on the Lyons Collection.

The treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, reported for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1911. His report, which is subjoined, was referred to Messrs. Lee Kohns and L. Napoleon Levy, of New York, for audit.

#### REPORT OF TREASURER.

##### GENERAL FUND.

##### RECEIPTS.

|                                                                                |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance with Treasurer in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1910..... | \$ 675.64  |
| Members' dues and back dues.....                                               | 1,315.00   |
|                                                                                | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                | \$1,990.64 |

##### EXPENSES.

|                                                                                                                                             |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Lord Baltimore Press, printing Publication No. 19, including extra edition, \$816.20; expressage and postage on Publications, \$28.82 ..... | \$ 845.02  |
| Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee .....                                                                       | 529.96     |
| Disbursements, Corresponding Secretary's Office.....                                                                                        | 206.62     |
| Disbursements, 19th Annual Meeting.....                                                                                                     | 28.75      |
| Disbursements for Treasurer's Office .....                                                                                                  | 23.00      |
| Fire Insurance Premium.....                                                                                                                 | 12.50      |
| Rental Safe Deposit Box, February, 1911 to February, 1912 .....                                                                             | 5.00       |
| Exchanges National City Bank.....                                                                                                           | 2.20       |
| Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1911.....                                                                                                | 337.59     |
|                                                                                                                                             | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                                                                             | \$1,990.64 |

# PUBLICATION FUND.

## RECEIPTS.

|                                                          |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1910.....             | \$ 970.00  |
| Donations (see list in Publication No. 20, p. xiii)..... | 4,180.00   |
| Sales of Publications.....                               | 126.40     |
|                                                          | <hr/>      |
|                                                          | \$5,276.40 |

## EXPENSES.

|                                                                     |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust Com-<br>pany .....   | \$4,000.00 |
| Balance in National City Bank of New York, October 1,<br>1911 ..... | 1,276.40   |
|                                                                     | <hr/>      |
|                                                                     | \$5,276.40 |

# STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 1, 1911.

## GENERAL FUND.

|                                                            |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance in National City Bank of New York.....             | \$ 337.59  |
| Present deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., | 2,176.30   |
|                                                            | <hr/>      |
|                                                            | \$2,513.89 |

## PUBLICATION FUND.

|                                                                           |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Principal deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust<br>Company ..... | \$4,000.00 |
| Balance in National City Bank of New York.....                            | 1,276.40   |
|                                                                           | <hr/>      |
|                                                                           | \$5,276.40 |

The chair named the following committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society for the ensuing year: Messrs. Lee M. Friedman and Leon Russell Eyges and Rabbi M. M. Eichler, all of Boston. They reported, and the following were thereupon unanimously elected :

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York City; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C.; Corresponding Secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New



York City; Recording Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, New York City; Treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York City; Curator, Leon Hühner, New York City. Additional members of the Executive Council: Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.; J. Bunford Samuel, Philadelphia, Pa.; Max J. Kohler, New York City; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Prof. Joseph Jacobs, New York City; Charles J. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Alexander Marx, New York City; Prof. Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the trustees of Tempel Israel for their courtesy in extending the hospitality of their vestry for this meeting, and to the committee on local arrangements for its services.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at the session of February 12, 1912:

Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, by Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool; Abraham Abraham, by Hon. Simon W. Rosendale; Adolph Mack, by Hon. Edward Lauterbach; Godfrey Morse, by Lee M. Friedman.

The following papers were read:

Rabbi M. M. Eichler, of Roxbury, Mass.: "Cora Wilburn."

Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York: "The Correspondence of Jews with President Martin Van Buren."

Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool, of New York: (1) "A Jew Among the Indians of the Great Lakes in the Early Nineteenth Century"; (2) "The Presentation of a Flag to the Anthon Battalion by Mrs. Commodore Levy"; (3) "The Burial Society in Curaçao in 1783"; (4) "A Letter from San Francisco in January, 1854."

Rev. Dr. Mendel Silber, of Albuquerque, New Mex.: "America in Hebrew Literature."

Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of New York: (1) "The Baron de Belmonte"; (2) "The Marquis de Schönenberg."

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, of New York: "A Note on the Jewish Vestry Bill of Barbados."

Rev. Dr. David Philipson, of Cincinnati: "The Hebrew Words on the Tombstone of William Bradford."

Lee M. Friedman, of Boston: (1) "Early Jewish Residents in Massachusetts"; (2) "Wills of Early Jewish Settlers in New York."

Leon Hühner, of New York: "Jewish Lawyers and Physicians in America prior to 1800."

J. Bunford Samuel, of Philadelphia: "Henry M. Phillips, a Biographical Sketch."

John W. Jordan, of Philadelphia: (1) "Original Letters of Moses and Sampson Levy, of Philadelphia"; (2) "Two Letters of David Franks."

Rev. Dr. Edward N. Calisch, of Richmond, Va.: "Moses Myers, of Norfolk."

Dr. Georg Caro, of Zürich: "Gabriel von Salamanka" (in German).

Also the following papers, which were read by title:

Samuel P. Abelow, of Brooklyn: "An Index to the Jewish Encyclopedia, containing references to articles dealing with the history of the Jews in the United States."

Frank Cundall, of Kingston, Jamaica: "A Note on Isaac Lopez, a Jamaican Minister."

N. Darnell Davis, C. M. G., of London: "Notes from Wills of the Family of Massiah of Barbados."

Leon Hühner, of New York: "Jews in the War of 1812."

Professor Max L. Margolis, of Philadelphia: "The Jewish Colony of Elephantine."

Miss Rebecca E. Mitchell, of New York: "Genealogical Notes on the Isaacks, Mears and Michels Families of New York and Boston."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: (1) "Notes on the Genealogies of Jacob Franks and Joseph Simson"; (2) "A Note on Documents relating to the Inquisition in Mexico"; (3) "Some Items relating to the Jews in New York after 1734."

## TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the vestry of Temple Emanu-El, corner Fifth Avenue and Forty-Third Street, in New York. It began on the evening of February 11, 1913, continued on the morning and concluded on the afternoon of February 12, 1913. The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was in the chair, and delivered a brief address of welcome at the opening session.

The officers presented their annual reports. The corresponding secretary, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, stated that the Society now had 355 members—2 honorary, 46 corresponding and 307 active members, 4 of the last being life members—a net increase of 12 members over the previous figures. During the year 1 honorary, 1 corresponding and 3 active members died, while 5 members resigned. He announced the election by the executive council of Frank Cundall, F. S. A., Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica, and Israel Solomons, the well-known Jewish bibliophile of London, as corresponding members, and of 20 new active members. By direction of the president he had felicitated Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, senior vice-president, on his attaining the age of seventy years on June 23, 1912.

As delegate of this Society at the ceremonies of inauguration of the Rice Institute of Houston, Texas, the president named Rev. Wolf Willner, M. A., and in similar capacities to the centenary of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., and to the ninth annual conference of state and local historical societies, held at Boston in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, he appointed Mr. Lee M. Friedman. The Society had become a member of the International Congress of Historical Studies, to be held in London, in April, 1913.

The treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, reported for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1912. His report, which is sub-joined, was referred to Messrs. Lee Kohns and L. Napoleon Levy, of New York, for audit.

## REPORT OF TREASURER.

### GENERAL FUND.

#### RECEIPTS.

|                                                                                |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance with Treasurer in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1911..... | \$ 337.59  |
| Members' dues and back dues.....                                               | 1,340.00   |
|                                                                                | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                | \$1,677.59 |

#### EXPENSES.

|                                                                                                                  |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Lord Baltimore Press, printing Publication No. 20, \$656.-41; expressage and postage on Publications, \$6.35.... | \$ 662.76  |
| Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee .....                                            | 551.30     |
| Disbursements, Corresponding Secretary's office.....                                                             | 205.66     |
| Disbursements Curator's office, November 30, 1909, to March 10, 1912.....                                        | 108.87     |
| Fire Insurance Premium.....                                                                                      | 12.50      |
| Disbursements for 20th Annual Meeting.....                                                                       | 11.82      |
| Rental Safe Deposit Box, February, 1912, to February, 1913 .....                                                 | 5.00       |
| Exchanges National City Bank.....                                                                                | 2.40       |
| Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1912.....                                                                     | 117.28     |
|                                                                                                                  | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                                                  | \$1,677.59 |

### PUBLICATION FUND.

#### RECEIPTS.

|                                              |            |
|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1911..... | \$1,276.40 |
| Sales of Publications .....                  | 28.90      |
|                                              | <hr/>      |
|                                              | \$1,305.30 |

#### EXPENSES.

|                                                                  |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1912 ..... | \$1,305.30 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY,  
OCTOBER 1, 1912.

GENERAL FUND.

|                                                                   |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance in National City Bank of New York.....                    | \$ 117.28  |
| Present deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany,<br>N. Y. .... | 2,264.20   |
|                                                                   | <hr/>      |
|                                                                   | \$2,381.48 |

PUBLICATION FUND.

|                                                                           |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Principal deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust<br>Company ..... | \$4,000.00 |
| Interest on above to July 1, 1912 .....                                   | 200.47     |
| Balance in National City Bank of New York.....                            | 1,305.30   |
|                                                                           | <hr/>      |
|                                                                           | \$5,505.77 |

The chair named the following committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society for the ensuing year: Messrs. Louis Marshall, L. Napoleon Levy and A. S. Freidus, all of New York. They reported and the following officers were thereupon unanimously elected:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York City; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C.; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York City; recording secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, New York City; treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York City; curator, Leon Hühner, New York City. Additional members of the executive council: Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.; J. Bunford Samuel, Philadelphia, Pa.; Max J. Kohler, New York City; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Joseph Jacobs, New York City; Charles J. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Alexander Marx, New York City; Prof. Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.



On motion of Mr. Louis Marshall, it was voted that the president be empowered to appoint a committee to consider the question of an index to the literature of Responsa, in co-operation with other learned societies.

On motion, it was voted to extend the thanks of the Society to the trustees of Temple Emanu-El for according the Society the use of the vestry of their synagogue.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at the sessions of February 12, 1913:

Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, by Dr. Joseph Jacobs; Georg Caro, by Albert M. Friedenberg; David Blaustein, by Jesse Isidor Straus; Morris Loeb, by Cyrus L. Sulzberger; Isidor Straus, by Hon. Samuel Greenbaum.

On motion of Hon. Oscar S. Straus, it was voted that the necrology of the late Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, when published by the Society, be sent to his widow with a letter of condolence.

The following papers were read:

Walter Hart Blumenthal, of Philadelphia: "Israelite and Indian: a Parallel or an Identity?"

Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York: "Gabriel of Salamanca."

Dr. Joseph Jacobs, of New York: "Rebecca Gratz and her relation to the *Rebecca* of 'Ivanhoe.'"

Professor Max L. Margolis, of Philadelphia: "The Beginnings of the Egyptian Diaspora."

Frank I. Schechter, of New York: "The Rightlessness of Mediaeval English Jewry."

Leon Hühner, of New York: (1) "The Participation of Jews in the New York Celebration of the Revolution of 1830 in France"; (2) "Random Notes in American Jewish History."

Mark J. Kätz, of New York: "The Battleship 'Maine' and the Gunboat 'Scorpion': the part played by Jewish Seamen in United States Marine History."

Edward Herbert, of New York: "Benjamin Franklin Peixotto in Roumania."

Dr. Moritz Güdemann, Chief Rabbi, of Vienna: "The 'Magen David,' Its Origin and Significance."

Rabbi Abraham A. Neuman, of Philadelphia: "Some Phases of the Condition of the Jews in Spain during the 13th and 14th Centuries (from Rabbinic Responsa)."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: (1) "Jewish Owners of Ships Registered at the Port of Philadelphia, 1730-1775"; (2) "A Philadelphia Jewish Merchant's Day-Book, 1755-1761."

George Fortunatus Judah, of St. Iago de la Vega, Jamaica: "The de Cordova Family in Jamaica."

Professor Gotthard Deutsch, of Cincinnati: "The Criticism of Historical Sources in the Talmud."

Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon, of Springfield, Ohio: "The History of the Jews in Russia in the 19th Century."

Also the following papers, which were read by title:

Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York: "Stray Notes on Jamaican Jewish History."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: "A Newspaper Account of an Auto-da-Fe in Lisbon in 1726, in which a Native of Bahia, South America, was burned."

Isaac W. Bernheim, of Louisville, Ky.: "History of the Settlement of Jews in Paducah and in the Lower Ohio Valley."

J. Bunford Samuel, of Philadelphia: "A Synopsis of the Records of the Samuel Family."

Sigmund Seeligmann, of Amsterdam, Holland: "David Nassy of Surinam and his 'Lettre Politico-theologico-morale sur les Juifs.'"

In addition, communications for this meeting were received from the following: Dr. Israel Abrahams, of Cambridge, England; Rabbi Dr. Adolf Altmann, of Salzburg, Austria; Dr. Markus Brann, of Breslau, Germany; Frank Cundall, of Kingston, Jamaica; Col. David Fergusson, of Berkeley, Cal.; Professor Dr. Ludwig Geiger, of Berlin; Rev. Rabbi Professor Dr. Hermann Gollancz, of London. Dr. Geiger sent a paper entitled, "Mendelssohns Bart" (in German); Dr. Gollancz one on "A Plea for a University in London, 1647."

## TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Broad and York Streets, in Philadelphia. It began on the morning of February 22, 1914, continued on the afternoon and evening of that day and concluded on the morning of February 23, 1914.

The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, who was in the chair, delivered the following address of welcome at the opening session :

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The American Jewish Historical Society was founded at a meeting held in New York in 1892, its purposes being formulated in the following terms:

“ The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.”

These objects have been steadily pursued by a small band of students whose work is being sympathized with and supported by an ever increasing number of members in the United States. While our main purpose is the study of American Jewish history we have enlarged it to promote the study of Jewish history in general though, of course, the Society will always mainly cultivate that field which lies nearest at hand.

As we, in common with all Americans are to-day celebrating the anniversary of the birth of the greatest American, George Washington, I may remind you that we Jews have our own, special addresses from Washington. One of these is addressed to the President of the Mikve Israel Congregation and the original is here. The others were addressed respectively to the Congregation in the City of Savannah and the Congregation in the City of Newport, all in the year 1790.

In his address to the Newport Congregation Washington used the significant words, "It is no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were through the indulgence of one class of people that another may enjoy the exercises of their inherent rights."

There are numerous minor points of contact which the Jews of that day had with Washington and while most of them are already known to scholars through notes in our publications and elsewhere, they have never been gathered together in a single monograph with proper illustrations. At the 17th annual meeting held in this city, on the 22d of February, 1909, I took the liberty of addressing the members of the Society upon this subject and when more pressing matters can be laid aside, I promise myself the pleasure of printing all the scattered references to relations between the Jews of the Colonial and Revolutionary period and Washington in one monograph with proper illustrations and facsimiles.

The Hon. Oscar S. Straus, so well-known to his fellow-countrymen by the various public offices which he has filled with distinction and to the advantage of the Republic, was, as you know, the first President of this Society and since his retirement has been an interested and active member of the Council. Last year while in Paris he secured through an archivist a calendar of all the papers in the French National Archives which related to the famous Sanhedrin called by Napoleon. Mr. Neuman, a member of the Society, and instructor in history in the Dropsie College, was asked to investigate the existing literature on the subject, compare it with the calendar and make a report. This Mr. Neuman has been able to do, especially in view of the large collections here in Philadelphia in the library of the late Henry C. Lea which was

made accessible to him through the courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania and a member of the Lea family. In effect, it was his opinion that so much remained unpublished, especially of correspondence on the part of Napoleon which would throw light upon his motives in calling the Sanhedrin, that a new and full monograph on this subject ought to be prepared. This Mr. Straus has requested Mr. Neuman to undertake and he will do so after another pressing piece of historical work upon which he is now engaged is out of the way.

Within the past fifteen years the question has been seriously discussed as to whether or not Columbus was of Spanish-Jewish origin. This suggestion seems first to have been made about fifteen years ago by a Spanish scholar named Don Garcia de la Riega in a paper published by the Geographical Society of Madrid in 1898. Since then several pamphlets have been written in confirmation of this view, the latest being in English by H. C. Kirk of Washington, entitled "The Secret of Columbus." The whole subject was reviewed by Henry Vignaud in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1913, who discredits the contention as being of no value. Without committing myself to any definite view upon this subject and strongly discouraging sensational and partisan statements, I think the subject is still deserving of careful investigation and steps will be taken by the Society to have such an investigation made in Spain. I wish to repeat that neither the Society nor myself is committed to any view on this subject and that we strongly deprecate claims not supported by unassailable evidence.

During the past year the 21st volume of our publications has appeared, being the first volume of the so-called Lyons Collection, devoted in the main to the earliest extant Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel in New York from 1728-1786, certainly the most important document of its kind relating to a congregation in North America and equal in continuity and importance to any of the congregational records of the great centers of Europe. This publication was made possible by the donation of the Lyons family, by the generosity of the friends of the Society for the special publication fund and by the untiring labors of the special committee consisting of Mr. Leon Hühner, Chairman, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, Dr. D. de Sola Pool, and the earlier work of Mr. Max J. Kohler.

The importance of this volume as a contribution to local Jewish history has been recognized not only by students in the United States but abroad.



We have in press a classified index of the first twenty volumes of our publications and the twenty-second volume, which will consist of miscellaneous papers, will also be issued during the course of the year. So much for our publishing activity.

Our collections and archives have also grown and are now becoming really important.

Judge Sulzberger has presented to the Society a very remarkable collection of documents received by him from various sources relating to the Gratz family, the Henry family and the Lyon family. These run from a period beginning, say, 1759 to 1800 and consist largely of original letters or transcripts which passed between members of these families in Philadelphia, Reading, Lancaster, London and various points in Germany.

Included in these papers is also a lengthy memorandum prepared by Judge Sulzberger in which many of them are analyzed. This collection ought to be carefully studied and is itself worthy of a monograph.

It shows these Jewish pioneers of Pennsylvania, all of whom came from Germany, and who wrote mostly in Jewish-German, though sometimes in English, to have been men engaged in the largest kind of affairs, being part of the company of twenty-two merchants and explorers who helped to establish the states west of Pennsylvania,—Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia and Kentucky,—and who not only had a pecuniary interest in these great enterprises but also were themselves explorers and pioneers leaving many traces of settlement in the then great wilderness. This collection of documents was handed to me by Judge Sulzberger only within a few days together with certain other papers which belong to the record of the Mikve Israel Congregation. With the aid of Mr. Neuman I have made a rough list of these documents which is herewith presented.

The documents include not only commercial and family matters but also occasionally matters relating to religious observances, as for instance there is a certificate issued in 1767 by Rabbi Abraham ben Isaac of the Congregation Shearith Israel of New York declaring that meat and fat sent to Barbados by a Philadelphia merchant, Zebi ben Mordecai, was *kosher*. This is the earliest *heksher* for exported *kosher* meat in all probability that is extant in the United States; and we find documents of 1747 and again 1755 relating to the question of *kashrut*.

Miss Charity S. Cohen, of Philadelphia, has presented to the Society two rare printed sheets, both dated 5608 corresponding to 1848, concerning a Hebrew and English school established in

Philadelphia by A. I. H. Bernal and an epitaph of Abigail Lindo with a poem by the Rev. Mr. Meldola.

From the late Elias Michael, of St. Louis, whose untimely death was a great loss to the citizenship of this country and to the Jewish people, I received in the autumn the original letter of Dr. Jacob de la Motta addressed to Thomas Jefferson, August 7, 1820, with the endorsement in Jefferson's handwriting. The letter of Jefferson has been known to us but not the present letter of Dr. de la Motta.

During the past year the Library of Congress published a Calendar of Papers of John Jordan Crittenden who held many important offices in the state of Kentucky, was three times United States Senator from Kentucky, Attorney-General of the United States, etc. In the case of this volume, as in the case of the previous Van Buren volume, I made a careful examination of each item and had copied at the Library of Congress for the archives of the Society such documents as seemed likely to have an interest for American Jewish history. The first of these is a letter to Crittenden by A. T. Burnley, dated June 13, 1830, which has reference to Mordecai M. Noah. Probably the most interesting is a rather long letter from Uriah P. Levy, dated May 1, 1856, relating to his own troubles with the Navy Department. This is a very important letter and should be considered in any future biography of Commodore Levy. There is also a note of Haym M. Salomon; a note with reference to Major Mordecai; a communication to a number of men including Judah P. Benjamin; and a reference to the land of the Myers family. These papers will go into the archives of the Society and ought to be made accessible by notes and otherwise in our publications. A systematic examination of the correspondence in the Library of Congress such as I have indicated will no doubt add to the store of our knowledge concerning the relations of Jewish citizens of the United States to public men.

The indefatigable Corresponding Secretary of the Society, Mr. Friedenberg, has undertaken the preliminary labor in a work which may prove of great importance. The Carnegie Institution of Washington has, as part of its contribution to historical research, employed various scholars to make lists of documents in the archives of Europe relating to America. Mr. Friedenberg has checked up such of these lists as are published and brought together the items relating to Jews. The next step will undoubtedly be, if our means allow, to secure competent persons in the various places in Europe to make transcripts of these documents. In this way and by securing similar transcripts of papers the

Society will gradually bring together a great body of material which can be used for filling out the numerous gaps in our records.

As a matter of course, the greatest part of the work of the Society has heretofore been done in the territory which formed the original thirteen states of the Union. The reasons for this are obvious enough. Here are the older societies and libraries and the records are fuller. But the relations of the older states and of the Jews of these older states to the newer states have by no means been made so clear. It is impossible to write a real history of the settlement of the Jews in America so long as the facts concerning the middle West and far western states are practically unknown and our work in the future should lie in the direction of securing investigations in the middle West and far western states and thus rounding out the history of our relations to the whole American territory. As a beginning in this direction, plans are now under consideration for securing a history of the relation of the Jews to the settlement of California.

A very charming and interesting contribution to the history of several distinguished Jewish families in America was privately printed this year by Mrs. Edward Cohen of Washington with the title of "Records of the Myers, Hays and Mordecai Families from 1707-1913" by Caroline Cohen, published for the family. In the foreword the author remarks that at this date there remain of the families of Myers, Hays and Mordecai, including the writer, only five persons professing the Jewish faith; and as within a few years these five will have passed away, and with them, all understanding of the family conditions in the four preceding generations, it is well that this chronicle should be preserved.

I have brought to your attention a few matters relating to Jewish history which have occupied the Society during the past year.

A varied and considerable programme is before you at this meeting to which your attention is invited.

It is now my privilege to declare open the 22d annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society and to welcome its members and friends to the sessions.

The officers presented their annual reports. The corresponding secretary, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, who acted as secretary of the present annual meeting, stated that the Society had 370 members of all classes on February 20, 1914—2 honorary, 46 corresponding and 322 active members, 4 of the last being for life. This represented the largest number of supporters

the Society had theretofore enjoyed. Since the previous annual meeting the executive council had elected Rear Admiral Adolph Marix, U. S. N., retired, and Dr. Abraham S. Yahuda, of Spain, to corresponding membership. Publication No. 21, the first Lyons volume, was issued and distributed on October 1, 1913.

As the delegate of this Society to the International Congress of Historical Studies, held at London in April last, the president appointed Elkan N. Adler, a corresponding member, the present president of the Jewish Historical Society of England. The Society's delegate to the silver jubilee of the Jewish Publication Society of America was the Hon. Simon W. Rosendale. The Society's delegate to the tenth annual conference of state and local historical societies, held in conjunction with the latest annual meeting of the American Historical Association, was August Kohn, of Columbia, S. C.

As a committee of this Society to co-operate with the publication committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America the president appointed Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman, Samuel Oppenheim, and Maurice Simmons. Its function is to deal with the projected volume on *The Jews in the Wars of the United States*.

The president and corresponding secretary for the Society formally congratulated the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, one of the executive council, on his attainment of the age of seventy years on June 22, 1913.

The curator, Mr. Leon Hühner, submitted his report. The collections of the Society now included 1601 printed books, 901 pamphlets, besides numerous other objects of interests. He particularly referred to the bequest of the late Ellen Phillips Samuel, of Philadelphia, consisting of paintings and miniatures, which had recently come into the Society's possession.

The treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, reported for the fiscal year stretching between October 1, 1912, and October 1, 1913. His report, which follows, was referred to Messrs. Lee Kohns and L. Napoleon Levy, of New York, for audit.

## REPORT OF TREASURER.

### GENERAL FUND.

#### RECEIPTS.

|                                                                                |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance with Treasurer in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1912..... | \$ 117.28  |
| Members' dues and back dues.....                                               | 1,455.00   |
| Check N. Y. Custom House, refund of duty on imported book .....                | .75        |
|                                                                                | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                | \$1,573.03 |

#### EXPENSES.

|                                                                         |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee .....   | \$ 563.80  |
| Disbursements, Corresponding Secretary's office.....                    | 255.25     |
| Disbursements, Curator's office, March 25, 1912, to Feb. 12, 1913 ..... | 63.80      |
| Disbursements, Treasurer's office, for postage and printing .....       | 39.75      |
| Disbursements for 21st Annual Meeting.....                              | 15.10      |
| Fire Insurance premium.....                                             | 10.00      |
| Rental Safe Deposit Box.....                                            | 5.00       |
| Exchanges National City Bank.....                                       | 2.40       |
| Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1913.....                            | 617.93     |
|                                                                         | <hr/>      |
|                                                                         | \$1,573.03 |

### PUBLICATION FUND.

#### RECEIPTS.

|                                              |            |
|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1912..... | \$1,305.30 |
| Sales of Publications .....                  | 54.80      |
|                                              | <hr/>      |
|                                              | \$1,360.10 |

#### EXPENSES.

|                                                                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Disbursements, Lyons Collection Committee, March 25, 1912, to February 12, 1913..... | \$ 176.22  |
| Balance in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1913 .....                     | 1,183.88   |
|                                                                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                      | \$1,360.10 |



STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY,  
OCTOBER 1, 1913.

GENERAL FUND.

|                                                                                         |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance in National City Bank of New York.....                                          | \$ 617.93  |
| Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y. (interest added to July 1, 1913)..... | 2,349.88   |
|                                                                                         | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                         | \$2,967.81 |

PUBLICATION FUND.

|                                                                        |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Principal deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust Company ..... | \$4,000.00 |
| Interest on above, to July 1, 1912.....                                | 200.47     |
| Interest on above, one year, to July 1, 1913.....                      | 126.94     |
| Balance in National City Bank of New York.....                         | 1,183.88   |
|                                                                        | <hr/>      |
|                                                                        | \$5,511.29 |

The president named the following as a committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council for the ensuing term: Rev. Leon H. Elmaleh, of Philadelphia, and Messrs. Leon Hühner and Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York. The chairman reported the following ticket and the names thereon were declared elected, after the secretary had cast one ballot, viz.:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York City; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Corresponding Secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York City; Recording Secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, New York City; Treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York City; Curator, Leon Hühner, New York City. Additional Members of the Executive Council: Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Professor J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, New York City; Max J. Kohler, New York City; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Joseph Jacobs, New York City; Charles J. Cohen, Phila-

delphia, Pa.; Professor Alexander Marx, New York City; Professor Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the Governors of the Dropsie College for the use of its premises for the present meeting, and to Dr. Herbert Friedenwald for his many years' active and disinterested service as an officer of the Society, coupled with the hope for his speedy recovery from the illness which caused his retirement.

Letters of regret for their absence were presented from Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Rev. Drs. H. Pereira Mendes and David Philipson, and Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at the afternoon session of February 22, 1914:

Wilhelm Bacher, by Dr. S. Schechter; Alberto Carlos da Silva, by Xavier da Cunha; Bertha Rayner Frank, by Louis H. Levin; Nathan Jacobson, by Louis Marshall; Lewis W. Steinbach, by Isaac Hassler.

The following papers were read:

Benjamin H. Hartogensis, of Baltimore: "Unequal Religious Rights in Maryland since 1776."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: (1) "The Will of Nathan Simson, a Jewish Merchant of New York before 1722, Proved in London in 1725"; (2) "Newspaper Notices of and by Jews of Philadelphia, 1735-1760"; (3) "The Chapters of Isaac the Scribe, a Bibliographical Rarity of 1772."

Rev. Dr. David Philipson, of Cincinnati: "An Early Confirmation Certificate from St. Thomas, D. W. I."

Frank Cundall, F. S. A., of Kingston, Jamaica, and N. Darnell Davis, C. M. G., of London: "Documents Relating to the History of the Jews in Jamaica and Barbados in the Time of William III."

Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York: (1) "Francis Joseph Grund, a Forgotten Journalist and Politician"; (2) "The Economic Interpretation of American Jewish History."

Prof. Alexander Marx, of New York: "A Chapter about Banking Affairs in the Sixteenth Century (from a Hebrew Code)."

Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool, of New York: (1) "The Prayer Book of 1761, including a Note on the Bookplate of Benjamin S. Judah"; (2) "The Literary Activity of Isaac Moses Gomez, Jr."; (3) "The Jewish Theological Seminary and Scientific Institution of 1852."

Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington: "Extracts from a Diary of the First Five Months of 1865."

Leon Hühner, of New York: "The Jews in the War of 1812."

Rabbi Abraham A. Neuman, of Philadelphia: "The Jewish Courts of Mediaeval Spain."

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia: "Jewish Portraits Painted by Gilbert Stuart and Thomas Sully."

William Vincent Byars, of St. Louis: "Two Great American Pioneers—Manuel Lisa and Joseph Simon."

Sigmund Seeligmann, of Amsterdam, Holland: "David Nassy of Surinam and his 'Lettre politico-theologico-morale sur les Juifs.'"

J. Cassuto, of Hamburg: "Brief Extracts from the Minutes of the Sephardic Congregation of Hamburg (around 1660) referring to America."

Frank Cundall, F. S. A., of Kingston, Jamaica: "Note on Michael Leoni."

Prof. Ludwig Geiger, of Berlin: "Mendelssohns Bart, eine unbekannte Spottschrift."

Rev. Prof. Hermann Gollancz, of London: "Motives for Founding a University in London, 1647."

Miss Alicia Lindo, of Kingston, Jamaica: "David Lindo, a Biography."

Also the following papers, which were read by title:

Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool, of New York: (1) "David G. Seixas and the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb"; (2) "Some Further Notes on Mrs. Commodore U. P. Levy"; (3) "J. Seixas—Hebraist"; (4) "A Note on the

Jewish Colony of Sholam, Ulster County, N. Y., 1838"; (5)  
"Committee Report on the Building of a New Synagogue and  
List of Promised Donations, New York, 1817, including  
Letters from Curaçao and Baltimore Supporting the New  
Synagogue, 1818."

Leon Hühner, of New York: "Some Additional Notes on  
American Jewish History."

## REPORTS OF LEON HÜHNER, CURATOR.

The collections of the Society comprise 1513 bound volumes and 793 pamphlets, besides prints, manuscripts and relics, many of which are both rare and valuable. Most of the accessions during the year came from our exchanges and from learned societies both here and abroad. Among the interesting purchases during the year are the following: Pierce Butler's biography of Judah P. Benjamin; W. Sombart's "The Jews in the Economic History of Modern Times," and the first German edition of Hannah Adams's "History of the Jews," published in the early part of the 19th century, and stated in the preface to be the first history of the Jews ever published in the German language.

Among interesting autographs purchased are the following:

Letter by Moses Levy of Philadelphia; three letters of Senator Yulee of Florida; one by Isaac D'Israeli; another by Sir Moses Montefiore, and a letter written by General Provost in 1774 to Barnard Gratz of Philadelphia, stated that he is sending his little daughter to Gratz with the request that the latter take charge of her and attend to her education. The letter shows the confidence of the British General in his Jewish friend at Philadelphia.

Among the gifts received, the most valuable is that presented by Miss Mordecai of Philadelphia, namely, the original letter addressed by the Jewish Congregation of Charleston, S. C., to President George Washington after his inauguration.

Additional gifts came from:

Dr. Cyrus Adler: Reports of the Adjutants General of several states, relating to the Spanish-American War.



- Frank Cundall of Kingston: A collection of books and pamphlets relating to the History of Jamaica.
- N. Darnell Davis: Three MS. items relating to the early history of the Jews in Barbados.
- John W. Jordan: Five original MSS. of Moses Levy and Sampson Levy of Philadelphia.
- Rev. David Levy of New Haven: Two MS. volumes of Prayers written by Emanuel De la Motta, a Jewish soldier in the Revolutionary War.
- The National Citizens' Committee, through the courtesy of its Secretary, Mr. Henry Green: A scrap book and collection of original letters and telegrams from persons of prominence, relating to the movement which led to the abrogation of the Russian Treaty.
- Alfred B. Daniels: A large collection consisting of one trunk and four boxes of newspaper clippings on matters of Jewish interest.
- Hon. William Sulzer: Reports and Addresses on the Passport Question and on Immigration matters.
- Isidore Lewi: Souvenir volume of Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
- Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool: A collection of unbound numbers of *The Jewish Chronicle*.
- Max J. Kohler: Pamphlet on the Immigration Question.
- J. Bunford Samuel: Index to Names in the Jewish Cemetery on Spruce St., Philadelphia.
- Leon Hühner: Eight books and six pamphlets of Jewish interest.

Other donors during the year were Messrs. Isaac Markens, Mark J. Kätz, and Albert M. Friedenberg, Miss Emily Solis-Cohen, and Miss Margaret C. Lewis.

A paper read by Mr. Lee M. Friedman at the Boston meeting in 1912 showed that there is considerable original material to be found in New England relating to the early history of the Jews in that section of our country, and it is therefore suggested that every effort be made to secure for the Society such books and documents while they are still obtainable.

The Society again acknowledges the kindness of the various historical societies who have favored us with their publications during the past year.

February, 1912.

During the past year the collections have grown to 1545 bound volumes and 839 pamphlets.

Among the recent purchases are autograph letters of David Naar, while representing the United States at St. Thomas, D. W. I., and of Mordecai M. Noah, while Collector of the Port of New York.

Among the gifts received during the year were the following :

Philip Cowen: "The Settlement of the Jews in North America," by Charles P. Daly.

Rev. P. Fidel Fita: *La Espana Hebrea*, 2 volumes.

Dr. Harry Friedenwald: "Elements of the Jewish Faith," by Rabbi S. I. Cohen, Richmond, 1817, with autograph of Francis Etting.

Isaac Markens: "Manual of Rules for Men of War," by Comodore Uriah P. Levy; twelve glass slides showing portraits of prominent Jews in America; also 14 books of Jewish interest.

Albert M. Friedenberg: "The Virginia Lichtensteins," by Gaston Lichtenstein (pamphlet), and three other pamphlets.

Albert E. Henschel: Three pamphlets of Jewish Interest, including one in answer to Judah P. Benjamin's argument on Slavery.

Dr. Abram S. Isaacs: Portraits of Dr. Maurice Mayer and of Philip Philips.

J. Bunford Samuel: "The Samuel Family."

Leon Hühner: Ten books and eighteen pamphlets,—among others, *Putnam's Magazine* for July, 1854, containing the first publication of Longfellow's poem on the Jewish Cemetery at Newport, unsigned.

Rev. George Alexander Kohut: "Beside the Still Waters," and "Charles Dickens and the Jews."

Max J. Kohler: Two pamphlets relating to the Immigration Question.

February, 1913.

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The collections of the Society are increasing steadily and the question of housing them suitably is becoming more and more of a problem. Fifty-six books and 80 pamphlets were added during the past year, making the total number of books 1601 and the number of pamphlets 901. These have all been

catalogued so that we can readily ascertain whether a certain publication is in our collection or not.

The foregoing does not include a valuable collection of periodicals some of which, like *The American Hebrew* and *Jewish Comment*, have been continued and kept up to date by subscription.

We again have occasion to thank the various learned societies and universities who have favored us with their publications.

The most notable gift during the past year came from the City of Philadelphia through the Will of the late Mrs. Ellen Phillips Samuel who bequeathed to our Society four portraits. Three of these are oil paintings, portraits of Jonas Phillips, his wife Rebecca Machado Phillips, and Israel Jacobs. The fourth portrait is a miniature of Altamont Phillips.

Among other gifts the more important are the following:

Dr. Abraham S. W. Rosenbach: Original MS. Minutes of the Ohio Land Company. A valuable record of the close of the 18th century containing the names of prominent Jews in connection with the development of the Ohio Country.

Mrs. E. Cohen: "Records of the Myers, Hays and Mordecai Families 1707-1913."

Frank Cundall: Portraits of David Lindo and Isaac Lopez of Jamaica.

Jacob Furth: Original Minute Book containing Constitution and By-Laws of United Hebrew Congregation of St. Louis (1841-59).

Dr. Cyrus Adler: Copy of a Letter addressed by Joshua I. Cohen to the Maryland State Convention in 1864.

Samuel Oppenheim: The Dutch Records of Kingston.

Grand Lodge F. and A. M. of Pennsylvania: "Old Masonic Lodges 1730-1800."

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald: Original Case and Points in *Franks vs. Adolphus*.

Isaac Markens: Portrait of Isabel DeLeon and Scrap Book with mounted portraits of Jewish interest, taken from "King's Notable New Yorkers"; picture of Chatham Square Burial Ground, and a number of certificates of membership of Jews in Masonic Lodges during the first half of the 19th century.

The thanks of the Society are also due to its President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, for keeping in touch with Congressional and State Government Publications and securing for us such volumes as are of Jewish interest.

Books and pamphlets were also received from the following donors: Messrs. S. Bamberger, M. de Beaujeau, Albert M. Friedenberg, Max J. Kohler, Leon Hühner, William B. Hackenburg, Maurice Kleimenhagen, Rev. Hyland Kirk, Lee M. Friedman, Percy J. Marks, Herbert L. Moses, Frank I. Schechter and J. Harry Selz, Miss Henrietta Szold, Jews' College, London, N. Y. Public Library, and the University of Strassburg.

Among the more important accessions by purchase during the year may be mentioned an interesting autograph letter of Judah P. Benjamin (1858), and a letter of Mordecai M. Noah, relating to an Address on the Origin of the Indians; a MS. account book of a Philadelphia merchant of the 18th century containing a number of items of Jewish interest, procured through the courtesy of Mr. S. Oppenheim, and photographic reproductions of the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765 and of a letter by David Franks to Boudinot (1777).

As already stated the collections of the Society are constantly becoming more numerous and valuable and it is becoming more and more imperative that they be suitably housed. The room at our disposal in the Jewish Theological Seminary is cramped and crowded.

Societies of far less importance, owning collections far less valuable, have managed to secure buildings of their own. Surely the Jewish people of America should have sufficient pride of race and take sufficient interest in the achievements of their forbears on American soil, to provide, if not a pretentious, at least a modest and substantial, home for such collections as we have accumulated. Many of the historic objects in our possession are of a character to arouse patriotic pride, and when exhibited will serve (better than books or addresses can) to remind the world that the Jew in America has been a pioneer

and a co-worker in the upbuilding of the American States and of the Nation.

A few months ago we received two beautifully executed portraits in oil of one of the Jewish soldiers of the American Revolution, Jonas Phillips and that of his wife. At present we have neither the space nor the facility for exhibiting these pictures and yet it is just such pictures that should be exhibited. Similarly our valuable Mexican Inquisition Records, Autograph Addresses by Presidents of the United States concerning, and of interest to, Jews, objects connected with early colonial history, all these should be permanently exhibited and it should require no great effort, if sufficient interest were aroused, to raise a fund sufficient to purchase a modest home for so important a purpose.

This appeal is made because your curator believes it to be a short sighted policy for us to wait until the Society finds itself without a home, and because he is convinced that the very existence of a permanent building will be more than repaid by gifts of pictures, books and historic relics which are at present withheld for the reasons mentioned. It cannot therefore be urged too strongly that such a building fund should be started in the near future.

February, 1914.



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## JUDAH MONIS, FIRST INSTRUCTOR IN HEBREW AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BY LEE M. FRIEDMAN, A. B., LL. B.

Harvard College, founded in large part to perpetuate a learned ministry for the churches of New England, naturally from its earliest days undertook to provide instruction in Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> Originally the college tutors taught this with the other regular undergraduate studies but evidently did not succeed in making it a popular subject.

In 1653 Michael Wigglesworth, then a young and serious-minded graduate of only two years' standing, one of the college tutors, was in despair over an undergraduate protest at his instruction in Hebrew.<sup>2</sup>

It was not until 1722, when the College engaged Judah Monis, that an instructor was provided especially qualified to teach Hebrew.

Since the day when Lowell in his "Fable for Critics" to indicate the great erudition of Theodore Parker boasted that amongst the subjects of his discourses was Judah Monis, much has been discovered concerning this early Jewish settler in Boston.

Judah Monis was born February 4, 1683.<sup>3</sup> Little is known of his early life. It is reported that he was educated "in the Jewish Academies of Leghorn and Amsterdam" and served as Rabbi both in Jamaica and afterwards in New York.<sup>4</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> "New England's First Fruits," London, 1642, reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. i, pp. 242-6.

<sup>2</sup> See *Publications*, No. 19, p. 108, note 25.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 109, note 27.

<sup>4</sup> *The New England Courant*, No. 35, April 2, 1722.

February 28, 1715<sup>5</sup>, he was admitted a freeman by the Mayor and Common Council of New York City. He was there described as a merchant.<sup>5</sup> He emerges from obscurity in 1720, when we find him settled in Boston. Several of the ministers of the town, especially Increase Mather and Mr. Leverett manifested a particular interest in him. Mr. Colman, Minister of the Brattle Street Church, Boston, thus described him:

He is truly read and learned in the Jewish Cabbals and Rabbins, a Master and Critic in the Hebrew. He reads, speaks, writes and interprets it with great readiness and accuracy and is truly διδαχτινος apt to teach. His diligence and industry, together with his ability is manifest unto many—To crown all his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, both the Old and the New Testament is very happy and extraordinary, which he adorns with laudable conversation.<sup>6</sup>

In 1720, Monis addressed a letter to the authorities of Harvard.<sup>7</sup> In the same year he was given the degree of M. A. by the College. This was the only degree conferred upon a Jew by Harvard prior to 1800.

By 1722, Judah Monis under the influence of his friends Increase Mather and Mr. Leverett resolved to embrace Christianity. It was decided that his baptism should be made a great public ceremony in the College Hall under the direction of Increase Mather. March 27, 1722, was the day appointed. Unfortunately, the "aged and venerable Dr. Increase Mather" on account of his health was prevented from presiding and Benjamin Colman was drafted to serve in his stead. Mr

<sup>5</sup> "List of Freemen made in the second year of the Mayoralty of John Johnson, Esq." I am indebted to Samuel Oppenheim, Esq., for this reference.

<sup>6</sup> "A discourse had in the College Hall, etc., before the Baptism of Judah Monis," Benjamin Colman, Boston, 1722, preface.

<sup>7</sup> This letter has been printed in full. *Publications*, No. 12, p. 102.

Appleton publicly baptized Monis<sup>8</sup> after Mr. Colman preached a learned discourse on "Moses, a witness unto our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ," ending with a fervent appeal to Monis, I salute you this day as Philip did Nathaniel. We have found him of whom Moses in the Law and Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, You believe and are going to Him. O! May the all-seeing Lord say of you and to you as he sees you coming—Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile. He, I trust, has seen you in your secret solemn consecration of yourself to him. Now do it again in the presence of us all, and say to our Gracious Saviour—Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.

Thereupon, Monis preached a "discourse" entitled "Truth,"

containing nine principal arguments the Modern Jewish Rabbins do make to prove the Messiah is yet to come; with answers to each, not only according to the Orthodox opinion but even with the authority of their own authentick Rabbins of old. And likewise, with the Confession of his faith.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "March 27, 1722. Mr. Judah Monis, a Jew by birth and education, being converted to the Christian faith owned ye Covenant and was baptized and declared a member in full Commission, with the Church of Christ, after a prayer and discourse made by Mr. Colman from John v, 46, and a discourse of his own from Psalm cxvi, 10, answering the common objections of the Jews against Christs being already come and giving a Confession of his faith in the close, sang part of the 110 Psalm. Which solemnity was performed in the College Hall." "Soli Deo Gloria. Records First Church, Cambridge," p. 60.

"May 28, 1722. At a meeting of the Church at my house, Voted: that Mr. Monis be allowed to partake with us at the Lord's Supper upon ye account of the profession he made and ye Covenant was given him in ye College Hall provided there be no objection offered against his life and conversion." *Ibid*, p. 125.

<sup>9</sup> *The New-England Courant*, No. 35, Monday, March 26, to Monday, April 2, 1722. *Cambridge*, March 28. Yesterday the learned and ingenious Mr. Judah Monis (sometime Rabbi of the Synagogue in Jamaica, & afterwards in New York, who commenced Mashkil Venabon, in the Jewish Academies of Leghorn and Amsterdam, etc.) made a publick profession of the Christian Religion,



These two sermons, together with two additional essays by Monis, "The Whole Truth"<sup>10</sup> and "Nothing but the Truth"<sup>11</sup> were immediately printed and somewhat widely circulated at Boston,<sup>12</sup> with a short preface by Increase Mather. Naively the author begs the gentle reader to forgive not only the errors of the Press

but even his appearing in public, seeing both were unavoidable.

At the meeting of the corporation of Harvard held April 30th following, it was voted:

that Mr. Judah Monis be improved as an instructor of the Hebrew

& was baptised here by the Rev. Mr. Appleton. The Rev. Mr. Colman, before his Baptism, entertained the audience with an excellent discourse upon John v, 46: *For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.* From which words he shewed how exactly several notable passages of Moses's writings have been accomplished in our Saviour Jesus Christ, concluding with a solemn address to the Rabbi, who followed this with a learned Discourse, answering (from the holy Scriptures and their now approved authors) nine of the chief arguments brought by the modern Jews to prove that the Messiah is not yet come. He introduced his Discourse with those words Psal. 116. *10 I believed, therefore have I spoken; I was greatly afflicted;* and concluded with a solemn profession of his faith in the Messiah already come. The solemnity was attended in the Common-Hall at Harvard College, by a Considerable part of the Church in this Town, and as numerous an assembly as the place would admit.

<sup>10</sup> "A short Essay wherein the author discovers what may be the true reason why the Jewish Nation are not as yet converted to Christianity. Besides what others have said before him. And likewise he proves the divinity of Christ, not only with the authority of the Sacred Oracles, but even by the opinion of the Jewish Authors of old, and answers all objections that the discourse brings forth out of Isai. ix, 6, 7. Concluding with a word of Exhortation."

<sup>11</sup> "A short Essay wherein the author proves the doctrine of the Ever-Blessed and Adorable Trinity, both out of the Old Testament and with the authority of the Cabalistical Rabbins, Ancient and Modern; and that said Doctrine is not a novelty as his countrymen do think but as ancient as the Bible itself."

<sup>12</sup> Printed by S. Kneeland for D. Henchman, Boston, 1722.

Language in the College and that he be allowed out of the College Treasury £50 for one year from this day.<sup>13</sup>

Monis, thereupon, addressed a letter to the corporation.<sup>14</sup> Monis seems to have immediately accepted the appointment.

At its next meeting in July, the corporation passed orders regulating Monis' services and authority.<sup>15</sup> All undergraduates, except the Freshmen and such as were excused by the President and tutors, were required to attend his classes four days a week, Monday and Wednesday afternoon at two and Friday and Saturday forenoons at nine-thirty

unless on those Frydays w<sup>ch</sup> the Bachelours' disputations may prevent them in the forenoons, then they shall be attended in the afternoon.<sup>16</sup>

Mr. Monis was further invested with

like power and authority to punish those instructed by him for delinquencies in their exercises he sets them as tutors have w<sup>th</sup> reference to their pupils.

And he was instructed to enter upon his duties forthwith.

President Leverett in his diary has described Monis' Hebrew instruction :

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<sup>13</sup> "President Leverett's Diary" (in the Harvard College Archives). Corporation Records Harvard University, April 30, 1722 (*idem.*).

<sup>14</sup> See *Publications*, No. 12, p. 103.

<sup>15</sup> Leverett's "Diary"; Corporation Records, July 30, 1722.

<sup>16</sup> These hours were from time to time changed by votes of the corporation, for example: "That the Hebrew Instructor's Lectures on Thursdays for Sophomores he henceforth till further notice held on Monday at two of the clock P. M." Corporation Records, Feb. 21, 1743.

"That the freshmen attend the Hebrew Instructor on the first week in October, viz: on the same day of the week on w<sup>ch</sup> they us'd to attend him." *Ibid.*, Apr. 3, 1749.

Every student was to have a Hebrew Bible, Psalter<sup>17</sup> and a Hebrew Lexicon, and the prescribed exercises were as follows: One exercise in a week shall be the writing of the Hebrew and Rabbinical. The rest shall be in this gradual method. 1. Copying the grammar<sup>18</sup> and reading. 2. Reciting it and reading. 3. Construing. 4. Parsing. 5. Translating. 6. Composing. 7. Reading without points.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps Monis proved himself a poor disciplinarian or possibly his students were as little inclined to Hebrew as were those of the previous generation, who had caused Michael Wigglesworth such perplexity. Whatever may have been the trouble, the following September the corporation directed Monis to keep

a list of his pupils that are, or shall be, from time to time, delinquent in the appointed exercises,

and the President and tutors were directed to punish such delinquents by fines as follows:

|                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| For absence               | one shilling.                 |
| For tardiness             | six pence                     |
| For evident negligence    | one shilling                  |
| For contemptuous carriage | five shillings. <sup>20</sup> |

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<sup>17</sup> Hebrew psalters were evidently obtained for student use with difficulty and the college authorities procured a supply from abroad from time to time. Voted: "that the Treasurer be desired to send to England for fifty Hebrew psalters of Dr. Leusden's Form, viz.: Hebrew and Latin. A good edition well bound but plain." *Ibid.*, May 7, 1746.

Voted: "That Mr. Treasurer be desired to procure (from Holland directly if it may be) two hundred of Leusden's Hebrew Psalters as soon as possible." *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1756.

Voted: "that the freshmen who shall take any of the Hebrew Psalters w<sup>ch</sup> have been sent for, for a supply of the College, shall allow for each psalter the sum of six shillings to be charged in their quarter bills." *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1758.

<sup>18</sup> Several of these grammars in the handwriting of the students are still extant. Thus the Massachusetts Historical Society has one manuscript by Jonathan Belcher. *Collections*, 1867-9, vol. x, p. 157. See, also, p. 8, note 26.

<sup>19</sup> Leverett's "Diary."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1722; Leverett's "Diary."

The next year, the college authorities passed the vote that the corporation having had experience of great benefit from the service of the Hebrew Instructor, Mr. Judah Monis, the last year, VOTED: that such an office be continued in the college so long as a suitable person for that service can be found and a suitable support for him.<sup>21</sup>

Monis thereupon was re-elected at an increased salary of £80 a year, and the corporation voted that it was

greatly satisfied w<sup>th</sup> his assiduity and faithfulness in his instruction, ye surprising effects of them having been laid before the corporation.<sup>22</sup>

Monis evidently esteeming himself well established in his academic position, on January 18, 1724, married Abigail Marret in the First Church in Cambridge.<sup>23</sup> She was the sister-in-law of John Martyn, the first minister of the Second Church of Northboro, Mass. Monis bought a house and estate of some considerable size<sup>24</sup> and settled near his wife's family in Cambridge. From this on, Monis appears to have become

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Corporation Records, April, 1723. Leverett's "Diary" notes that the corporation was shown "the extraordinary writings of sundry of his pupils."

<sup>23</sup> "Records of First Church of Cambridge," p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> In the inventory of Monis's estate filed in the Probate Court, Worcester County, Mass., his real estate in Cambridge is described and valued as follows:

1. To a dwelling House and Land with other buildings thereon, Bounded Westerly on the Cuntoary Road Northerly on the Town Road Easterly on land in posision of Frances Mooers Southerly on Cap't Marrett Land appraised at £266/13/4.
- 2ly To five acres of Mowing land bounded Westerly on the Cuntery Road Northerly on Capt. Eben'r Stedman land Easterly on Capt. Caleb. Danna land Southerly on a Rang Way at £13/6/8 per acre. £66/13/4.
- 3ly To ten acres of Pasteur Land Bounded Northerly on the Cuntery Road Easterly and Southerly on John Jones Esqr.

a permanent part of the college teaching staff. His appointment was renewed as a matter of course from year to year and his salary increased until by 1748 he was voted £254/16/0 a year and extras, an amount almost as large as the salary of the head tutor.<sup>25</sup>

After teaching some eleven or twelve years, Monis persuaded the college authorities to undertake the publication of his *magnum opus*—his Hebrew Grammar.<sup>26</sup> An appeal was made to Thomas Hollis, the London merchant and great patron of the college, for assistance. He caused a set of Hebrew type to be sent out from England to the Colony, but on arrival it proved to be imperfect and the college was obliged to send over

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|                                                                |          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| land Westerly on Edm. Trowbridge Esq. land at £10/0/0 per acre | £100/0/0 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|

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£433/6/8

All in Cambridge in the  
County of Middlesex all  
in lawful money

<sup>25</sup> Extra allowances were voted him together with other teachers at Harvard. The payments were made in money according to the "old tenour." The maximum was reached in 1748 when the sum of £254/16/0 was voted him together with the following: "That the Hebrew Instructor have six pence per Q<sup>r</sup> of the last Emission added to his salary so as to make in all two shillings and six pence per quarter provided he takes more effectual care that the scholars give a more general attendance to his instruction." In 1750 his salary was re-adjusted at £18/18/8 probably on the new money standard and continued at that figure until he resigned. Corporation records.

<sup>26</sup> This work had probably been in MS. form for some years and had been dictated to students who had written it out for their own use. Thus, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is such a MS. Hebrew grammar, "composed by Rabbi Judah Monis" in the handwriting of the student, John Cotton, which his minute informs us: "Begun to recite in it November 17, 1727, finished I don't know when 1728." See p. 6, note 18.



the sea again for more type to complete the set.<sup>27</sup> As soon as this type was received, the public was solicited to subscribe to the publication in the following broadside:<sup>28</sup>

דקדוק לשון הקודש  
Dickdook                      Lashon                      Aukodesh  
Grammar of the Holy Tongue  
Proposals  
for printing by subscription  
a  
Hebrew Grammar

or an essay to bring the Hebrew Grammar into English with a design to facilitate the instruction of all those that are desirous to obtain a clear idea of the primitive language by their own study, in order to their more distinct acquaintance with the Sacred Oracles of the Old Testament, according to the original, whereto is annexed the Lord's Prayer and the *Apostles' Creed*, translated into HEBREW, and an alphabetical catalogue of the Nouns and Verbs that consist of more than three Radicals, for finding the roots of which, there is no rule in any grammar, drawn for the sake of those that are willing to have a further knowledge in this ancient language. A Work altogether new. Collected from the BIBLE with care and diligence. All

By יהודה מוניש  
Judah Monis, M. A.

Teacher of the Hebrew Tongue at Harvard College in Cambridge.  
New England.

The Grammar will be considerably larger than Schickard's,  
with the Conjugations, Schemes of Tenses and Moods of all  
the denominations and Quotations

At large and will be printed in the same paper with these  
proposals or thereabouts.

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<sup>27</sup> Preface to the Grammar. This type appears to have remained in the possession of the college for many years. May 7, 1746 the corporation passed a vote: "That the Hebrew Types w<sup>ch</sup> are at present in confusion be put into order and that the members of the corporation in Town give Direction about it." *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> A copy of this, supposed to be unique, is in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library. It is reproduced in facsimile in this volume.

It shall be afforded to subscribers (bound) for eight shillings  
per  
book, and they that subscribe for six books shall have the  
seventh gratis.

N. B. If a sufficient number of subscribers appear, the  
work will be forwarded with all convenient expedition, the  
Hebrew Type being already  
arrived from Great Britain. A specimen may be seen above.

Subscriptions are taken in by said Monis at his  
house in Cambridge and Daniel Henchman, Bookseller in Boston.

Meantime, the College had undertaken to advance as a loan  
"with lawful interest" to Monis sufficient money to get out  
an edition of a thousand copies.<sup>29</sup> As early as 1724<sup>30</sup> the over-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vote of July 1, 1734: "Whereas Mr. Monis, ye Hebrew Instructor has taught his scholars by a grammar of his own. Composing which being in manuscript proves very discouraging to those y<sup>t</sup> study ye Hebrew they being obliged to write out ye same, and there having been proposals made for printing said grammar, it is voted that the Treasurer advance to Mr. Monis so much money as is necessary for ye printing a thousand copies in quarto, two hundred of them to be stitched and bound immediately after they are printed, the one thousand copies to be delivered into ye Treasurer's hands and that there be a computation made of ye prime cost of such a book (supposing all of them stitched) and Mr. Monis have liberty of drawing out those books as he sees cause, provided he does, from time to time, as he draws out any books, pay ye Treasurer ye prime cost of said books with lawful interest for ye same, according to ye length of time, from Mr. Monis drawing ye money out of the Treasury for printing of said grammar. And Mr. Monis be allowed to advance one hundred and fifty per cent upon ye prime cost of ye said books and ye Mr. Monis pay in the money and interest at ye standard of money, and ye price of ye book to ye scholars be governed accordingly. And y<sup>t</sup> Mr. Monis have liberty of making use ye Hebrew type for ye printing the same."

<sup>30</sup> Records of the Overseers of Harvard University, June 8, 1724:

1. "That it be and hereby is recommended to the corporation of Harvard College to endeavor that the method of Mr. Monis in instructing the students of the College in the Hebrew language be such as may answer ye ends of his office and station

seers had voted to recommend to the corporation that they should undertake to assist Monis and put his grammar in proper shape; and now that it was about to be printed, the corporation appointed the President, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Henry Flynt, Rev. Edward Wigglesworth and Mr. Nathaniel Appleton a committee to help Mr. Monis revise his grammar in accordance with the overseers' vote. This Committee reported Mr. Monis is excellently well skilled in the Hebrew tongue and has taken great pains in composing his grammar and it is a very suitable one to answer ye ends of his office and station.<sup>31</sup>

Early in 1735, the printing of the grammar was completed.<sup>32</sup> Monis dedicated his book to

His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq.; Governour in Chief of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and the Rest of the Honourables and the Reverend Overseers of

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and more especially that his grammar may be revised and compared with others that so a suitable one may be agreed upon.

2. "That the tutors of the several classes be obliged to instruct their respective pupils (except such as are entered with the said Mr. Monis) in the Hebrew as heretofore.
3. "That Mr. Monis be obliged to instruct such of the graduates at the College in the Hebrew Language as shall attend him at such times as the corporation shall appoint."

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1734. The report of this committee was submitted and accepted at the meeting of April 14, 1735 and was as follows: "Cambridge, Mar. 20, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Whereas ye corporation of Harvard College on Sept. 30, 1734, appointed us ye subscribers agreeably to a vote of ye Hon<sup>d</sup> and Rev<sup>d</sup> overseers June 8, 1724 to revise Mr. Monis's Hebrew Grammar and compare it with others, now therefore report that we have revised said grammar and compared it with other as to apprehend that Mr. Monis is excellently well skilled in ye Hebrew Tongue and has taken great pains in composing his grammar and it is a very suitable one to answer ye end of his office and station.

|                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Benjamin Wadsworth  | Henry Flynt          |
| Edward Wigglesworth | Nathaniel Appleton." |

<sup>32</sup> See *Publications*, No. 3, p. 112 *et seq.*

Harvard College, and to the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, President and the Rest of the Honourable and Reverend Corporation of said College.

In his modest preface, he appeals to his readers :

The whole of this essay (such as it is) I offer to your candid acceptance, hoping you'll overlook the defects in the English phrase and any other lesser Errors; and if you reap any benefit by it, give the Glory to God and pray for the prosperity of Harvard College.

The thousand copies which had been printed cost £219/6/3. One hundred copies were appropriated by the College and distributed to each overseer, member of the corporation, professor and tutor. Mr. Monis was authorized to sell the balance at 12/2 each, and every Sophomore and Freshman in the College was ordered forthwith to purchase a copy at this price. Elaborate arrangements were made to have the books delivered to the College Treasurer as security for the loan and as each copy was delivered to Mr. Monis for sale, he was to pay the Treasurer 4/10½, with interest

by ye standard of ye silver money ye price of which at this day is twenty-seven shillings per ounce.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Corporation Records, March 31, and July 1, 1735: "Mr. Monis having exhibited to ye corporation a specimen of his Hebrew Grammar and having also exhibited an account of ye charges in printing, stitching and covering a thousand copies of ye said grammar, which amounted to two hundred nineteen pounds six shillings and three pence and ye corporation having taken one hundred copies to dispose of as they shall see cause, and the prime cost of ye nine hundred copies remaining amounting to four shillings ten pence half penny each, which at one hundred and fifty per cent advance make twelve shillings two pence, one farthing, therefore, voted: y<sup>t</sup> Mr. Monis shall sell said grammars at twelve shillings and two pence, he paying to ye College Treasurer four shillings, two pence half penny for each grammar with ye interest thereof as he draws them out of ye college Treasury upon ye account of ye one farthing abated in his advance on each book allowed in the sale of said grammars and

Later, Mr. Monis was presented with fifty copies of his grammar and awarded £35

for his time, care and pains expended in procuring and perfecting for ye use of ye college an impression of his Hebrew Grammar.

The price of the grammar was subsequently advanced to 14/- and the order for every Freshman and Sophomore to purchase a copy repeated and a direction given that they should be charged for the same on their "Quarter Bills."<sup>34</sup>

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y<sup>t</sup> ye price of selling and paying into ye Treasury be regulated from time to time by ye standard of ye silver money, ye price of which at this day is twenty seven shillings per ounce. That one of ye Hebrew Grammars be presented to each of ye Honorable and Reverend Overseers, to each member of ye corporation and to ye several professors and tutors of ye college. That ye vote of September 9, 1734 relating to ye sophomores buying ye Hebrew Grammar be reversed, . . . [this vote is found below] and instead thereof voted: y<sup>t</sup> ye present sophomores forthwith buy each of them a Hebrew Grammar of Mr. Monis and pay him twelve and two pence ye price stated by ye corporation for each grammar and that they and all ye sophomores for ye time to come shall attend ye Hebrew instruction upon ye days and hours appointed for them, y<sup>t</sup> ye present freshmen shall attend ye Hebrew instructions on Fridays at two of ye clock in ye afternoon and shall each of them forthwith buy a Hebrew Grammar of ye said Mr. Monis and y<sup>t</sup> all ye freshmen for ye future shall attend ye Hebrew instructions above mentioned, at which time they shall each of them buy a Hebrew Grammar of said Mr. Monis at ye price aforesaid to be regulated by ye silver standard from time to time.

" . . . That all ye sophomores shall attend ye instructions of ye Hebrew Instructor so often and on such days of ye week as ye corporation shall direct and inasmuch as there is now in the Press a Hebrew Grammar for ye use of ye scholars, therefore, ye sophomores shall buy one of ye said grammars of Mr. Monis or such other person and at such price as shall be appointed by ye said corporation and so long as ye said corporation shall order ye use of said grammar in ye college."

<sup>34</sup> "Voted: that Mr. Monis have fifty of his hebrew grammars for his manuscript copy and preparing it for the press, and therefore, y<sup>t</sup> ye Treasurer reimburse Mr. Monis ye sum of twelve



Little has come down to us of Monis as a teacher.<sup>35</sup> In 1736 he had a quarrel with another instructor over the use of a class room and the corporation was obliged to interfere to settle the difficulty.<sup>36</sup> In 1748 he was asked by the corporation to

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pounds, eighteen shillings and four pence, which sum Mr. Monis has paid for above said fifty printed grammars; that ye Treasurer pay out of ye College Treasury ye sum of thirty-five pounds for his time, care and pains in procuring and expending for ye use of ye college an impression of his Hebrew grammar.

That ye price of said Hebrew Grammar be fourteen shillings a piece and y<sup>t</sup> ye present sophomores and ye freshmen, from time to time, shall each of them be furnished with one of said grammars at ye price aforesaid, to be charged to them on their quarter bills. That all freshmen for ye future shall attend ye Hebrew instructions at ye beginning of ye last quarter and y<sup>t</sup> they and ye other undergraduates attend said Hebrew instructions at such time and so often as ye corporation shall determine."

Sept. 17, 1750 the corporation reduced the price of the grammar "That the Hebrew Grammars be henceforth til further order charg'd to the freshmen at three shillings per grammar." Corporation Records. Also voted: "that the Treasurer be desired to get four dozen Hebrew Grammars stitched as soon as may be." Corporation Records, April 3, 1744.

<sup>35</sup> His reputation as a Hebrew scholar, however, was very considerable throughout the community. Thus, Rev. John Cotton writes of him: "I would move Mr. Monnis, the converted Jew, to collect his remarks in his Remarks in his Reading of the old Testament; which may mend our Translations, or may lead us to a Sense of the deep things intended by the holy Spirit of God, in His Oracles, which are not commonly observed. A Jew rarely comes over to us, but he brings Treasures with him." Again: "Rarely does a Jew of any Erudition come over to Christianity, but he brings with him some Treasures of Illustration upon the Sacred Scriptures. We have a Christianized Jew at Cambridge, who is a great Master of the Hebrew Language. I will putt him upon collecting and preserving the notable observations, which he makes in reading the Hebrew Bible." See "The Diary of Cotton Mather," July, 1724, part ii, *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 7th series, vol. viii, pp. 741, 743.

<sup>36</sup> "Whereas Mr. Monis and Mr. Greenwood attend their private lectures and instructions in the same chamber, therefore ordered

take more effectual care that the scholars give a more general attendance to his instruction.<sup>37</sup>

In 1744 Monis with other officials of Harvard College joined President Holyoke in issuing a pamphlet to counteract what was regarded as the pernicious religious activity of George Whitefield and to defend the fair name of Harvard.<sup>38</sup>

Hebrew, however, continued to be an unpopular subject with the Harvard students. A letter of Judge Wingate shows<sup>39</sup> that by 1755 instruction in Hebrew at the College had declined to one afternoon a week and Monis appears not even to have received the meagre salary voted him. In 1753 he stated that all told his average receipts had only been £18/14/4 a year.<sup>40</sup> He attempted to eke out his income by keeping shop and although he seems to have done quite an active business in selling the College such supplies as nails, hinges, pipes, and tobacco, yet he did not make a success of his shop-keeping.<sup>41</sup>

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y<sup>t</sup> whenever they finish their respective lectures and instructions, they take effectual care of ye key of said chamber be hung up ye Buttery.

"Whereas the time of ye freshmen to attend Mr. Monis's instructions on Friday at two o'clock interferes with some of Mr. Professor Greenwood's private lectures, it is therefore ordered y<sup>t</sup> Mr. Monis shall at y<sup>e</sup> time instruct ye freshmen in the College Hall." Corporation Records, April 27, 1736.

<sup>37</sup> See *supra*, note 23.

<sup>38</sup> "The testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College in Cambridge against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield and his conduct," Boston, 1744.

<sup>39</sup> Pierce, "History of Harvard University," No. 233.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>41</sup> President Wadsworth's Diary preserved in manuscript in the Archives of Harvard University is full of entries showing payments made to Monis on account of such purchases. A few of them are:

"Oct. 24, 1726. I gave Mr. Monis a note to ye steward for £2/15/8 for nails, hinges, etc. had for the college.

"Mr. Monis July 20, 1727 had two notes to ye steward one to

It also appears that at times he was called upon by the government to act as its official interpreter. Thus when the governor's council was investigating the loss of the Spanish ship *Jesus Maria Joseph* on the high seas in 1735 Monis acted as Spanish interpreter.<sup>42</sup>

In April of 1740 the Royal governor of Massachusetts nominated Judah Monis to be a justice of the peace for the County of Middlesex. At this date this was a judicial office of importance. The governor's council, however, do not seem to have "advised and consented" to this nomination and there is no evidence that he ever discharged the functions of this office.<sup>43</sup>

From time to time the College was obliged to help him financially by granting him an allowance out of its Treasury.<sup>44</sup>

receive £1. 10/11 for nails to ye college, ye other to receive £1/6/11 for nails to ye President's house.

"Mr. Monis Jan. 8, 1732 had a note to ye steward for £2/12/10 for nails etc. taken up at his shop for ye college.

"Mr. Monis July 29, 1732 had a note to ye steward for £1/17/1 for nails and laths for ye college.

"Mr. Monis had a note to ye steward Sept. 1, 1733 for 4/6 for a padlock.

"Mr. Monis June 10, 1734 had a note to ye steward for £3/12/7 in full of w<sup>t</sup> was then due to him from ye college for nails, locks, pipes and tobacco.

"Mr. Monis Aug. 4, 1736 had a note to ye steward for £2/16/8 for pipes, tobacco, etc., for ye corporation.

"Mr. Monis Aug. 3, 1733 had a note to ye steward for 7/6 for House hire to Braintree on College account."

There are also in the files of the Supreme Judicial Court of Suffolk County the records and papers of two suits in the Superior Court of Middlesex County by Monis. File 1736 is an action against one Jeremiah Wesson of Sudbury to recover £13 due on a promissory note. File 1731 is against James Cutter of Cambridge to recover a debt of "forty ounces twelve penny weight and three grains lawful silver money." In both actions, Monis prevailed.

<sup>42</sup> "Mass. Archives," vol. ix, p. 634.

<sup>43</sup> "Mass. Archives," vol. x, p. 358.

<sup>44</sup> "Vote of the corporation Feb. 26, 1752. "That Mr. Monis, the Hebrew Instructor upon his petition for help from the corporation,

Finally in 1753, with the approval of the College Authorities, Monis addressed an appeal for financial assistance to Governor Shirley and the Council and House of Representatives.<sup>45</sup> This seems to have been not an uncommon course of procedure for the Harvard Instructors when

from ye lowness of ye college stock ye corporation

found itself unable to pay the salaries it had promised. £20 was thereupon granted him by the Legislature from the Public Treasury

as a gratuity in consideration of his faithful discharge of the Trust reposed in him and for his further encouragement therein.<sup>46</sup>

A similar petition was probably presented in the following years, although only one other is now extant<sup>47</sup> and this same vote was probably repeated, though only one other—the vote for 1757—has been found in the records.<sup>48</sup> At this time the gratuity had been reduced to £18. The last of these payments was in 1760.

In the same year, his wife died, and shortly thereafter, Judah Monis, now an old man of seventy-seven, having given almost forty years of service to the College, resigned his position in Harvard<sup>49</sup> and retired to live in Westboro with his

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under the low circumstances of his family, be allowed the sum of eight pounds for his relief." *Ibid.*, April 2, 1752. "That Mr. Monis, the Hebrew Instructor, upon his petition for help from the corporation, under the low circumstances of his family, be allowed for his relief the sum of five pounds this year."

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>46</sup> "Province Laws, Mass.," vol. xv, p. 92: Resolve passed Dec. 29, 1753.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>48</sup> "Mass. Archives," vol. lviii, p. 428a, Feb. 17, 1757.

<sup>49</sup> "Whereas, Mr. Judah Monis, the Hebrew Instructor hath resigned that office on the 12th of this instant, November when his Qt ended, therefore, VOTED: that scholars be taxed to the Hebrew Instructions in the current Qt no more than one shilling; and that for the time to come none of the scholars shall be charged as to any Hebrew Instructions in their Qt bills till further order." Corporation Records, Nov. 18, 1760.

brother-in-law, John Martin. He appears to have taken an active interest in the affairs of the Church over which Mr. Martin was settled. He gave them three silver communion cups, and in 1763 it was publicly voted that Mr. Monis should have a seat of honor in the Church.<sup>50</sup>

Monis was succeeded as Instructor of Hebrew by Stephen Sewall<sup>51</sup> who later became the first Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages.<sup>52</sup>

Within three years, in 1763, the College appears to have ventured to print a second Hebrew grammar to supersede the original works of Monis.<sup>53</sup> It has been suggested that this new grammar was prepared by Monis previous to his retirement, but there is nothing to substantiate this opinion.

Judah Monis died April 25, 1764.<sup>54</sup>

Monis, by his will<sup>55</sup> left the bulk of his estate to the five ministers of churches in Cambridge, Hingham, Salem, Westboro, and Boston and their successors, as a permanent fund for Ye relief of ye Poor Widows of ye Ministers of Christ in the Province.

This trust is now being administered by the American Unitarian Association as successor to the former trustees, according to the terms of his will.

Monis was buried at Westboro and a tombstone was erected bearing an epitaph.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Joseph Allen, "A Centennial Discourse," Boston, 1846; E. Alfred Jones, "The Old Silver of American Churches," p. 349.

<sup>51</sup> "History of Harvard," by Quincy, vol. ii, p. 130.

<sup>52</sup> The Hancock Professorship was founded in 1764 by a bequest under the will of Thomas Hancock.

<sup>53</sup> "A Hebrew Grammar collected chiefly from those of Mr. Israel Lyons, etc. Printed by R. & S. Draper for the Honorable and Reverend the Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College," Boston, 1763.

<sup>54</sup> In the deeds executed by his executors, Middlesex Registry of Deeds, So. District, the date of his death is given as April 19, 1764.

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>56</sup> See also *Publications*, No. 19, p. 110. The inscription in detail insofar as heretofore unpublished, reads:



APPENDIX A.

PETITION OF 1753.

To his Excellency Wm. Shirley, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England. To ye Hon. his Maj's Council and House of Representatives in General Council, Assembled in Boston, December 4th, 1753.

The Petition of Judah Monis, Hebrew Instructor in Harvard College, Humbly Sheweth yt Your Petitioner has been in ye Capacity aforesaid for one and Thirty Years Past, and has constantly kept open Six Lectures a week for Three quarter part of the Time, and five Lectures a Week for the other quarter occasioned by the Freshmen not being obliged to attend him ye first quarter after their admission, during the whole of which time he has faithfully discharged his Duty and done all yt Lay in his Power to Instruct the Youth in ye Knowledge of ye Hebrew Tongue. That from ye Lowness of ye College Stock ye Corporation were not able for ye First Two and Twenty Years service to allow your Petitioner but About Twelve Pounds a year—That also that in ye Year 1744 he Received from Each Scholar by order of ye Corporation in addition to wt the College Allowed him Eight Shillings, Old Tenor a year, which then raised his Income to about twenty Pounds a year. But ye Corporation in the Year 1748, finding that all he received would not by any means support him, and Not being Able to grant him any further Salary raised his Perquisites from ye Scholar to five shillings and four pence a Year, which wth ye College Salary Amounts to About £16/13/4 a Year, and that is the extent of w<sup>ch</sup> he at this time receives. So that taking the whole of what the College has allowed your petitioner, and all his perquisites together, he had upon an average received about

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“ Here lie buried the remains of  
Rabbi Judah Monis, M. A.  
Late Hebrew Instructor,  
at Harvard College in Cambridge,  
In which office he continued forty years,  
He was by birth and religion, a Jew  
But embraced the Christian faith,  
And was publicly baptized,  
At Cambridge, A. D. 1722,  
And departed this life,  
April 25th, 1764  
Aged eighty-one years, two months and twenty-one days.”

£18/14/4 a year which is not a quarter part of what he has been obliged to expend in ye Support of his family. And your Petitioner begs further to observe that he has kept a shop during his residence in Cambridge in which he once had a considerable stock, but by the means aforesaid is now reduced to Less than £26/3/4; and having no other Incomes for the Support of his family, but the Profits of that, with a few acres of land and wt he receives from his Instructing above said. He apprehends yt without further Relief—he shall now in his old Age, be obliged not only to Expend ye Little that he now has Left, but be reduced to Want.

Your Excellency and Honours have been pleased to take into your wise Consideration ye Small Salary that were Allowed to ye Propheors of Divinity and Mathematicks and have for many years past granted them such further supply and Relief as you in Your wisdoms have though Expedient.

Wherefore Your Petitioner Humbly Prays yt Your Excellency and Honours would be pleased to take his case into Your wise Consideration, and Grant him Such further Support as you in Your Wisdoms Shall Think Proper.

That so he may be enabled to go on in the service of ye College so Long as God shall see fit to Continue him in said Employments and Your Petitioner as in Duty Bound Shall ever Pray etc.

J. MONIS,

Cambridge, ye 4th of Xber, 1753.

See "Mass. Archives," vol. lviii, p. 386.

## APPENDIX B.

### PETITION OF 1759.

To his Excellency Thomas Powell, Esq., Cap Gen and Co in Chief in and Over ye Prov of ye Mass Bay in New England.

To ye Hon ye Council and House of Representatives in ye Genl. Court assembled at Boston, Feb. 7, A. D. 1759.

Judah Monis, Hebrew Instructor in Harvard College in Cambridge Humbly Shews

That ever since ye year of our Lord 1722, he has sustained ye Office above s<sup>d</sup> and discharged ye Trust reposed in them in ye best Manner he was Able to do, and untill ye Year 1748, upon an averidge received from ye Coll for Salary, Percuisets and not more yn £18/13/4 a year by means w<sup>h</sup> of he has Expended above Three Quarters of his own Estate for Necessary Support of himself and family, and is now reduced; That if it should please God to continue him much Longer in ye World, ye Little Estate he has remaining (even his present Income from ye Colledge, and wt.

your Excellency and Honours have been pleased of late Years to Grant him.) Even not be Sufficient to Support him and his family much Longer and should your Petitioner be deprived of his income and allowance afe sd, or indeed of either of them, he now in his old age being above 76 when unable to engage in other business fr his support—must—(after having served ye College and therein ye Country faithfully), according to his said ability for 37 years and in ys Service spent his time, Strength and Estate should want bread. Therefore your Petition<sup>r</sup> humbly Prays Your Excl and Honours Compassionate Consideration of his distressed Circumstances and that you will please make him the same allowance this year as ye Last even 20 Pounds. If you upon ye whole should not thought proper to make some addition thereunto, and your Petitioner as in Duty Bound, Shall ever pray for Your Excellency and Honour etc.

See *ibid.*, p. 443.

J. MONIS.

#### APPENDIX C.

WILL AND CODICILS OF JUDAH MONIS FROM THE PROBATE RECORDS OF WORCESTER COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, VOL. VIII, P. 418.

WILL ALLOWED AUG. 2, 1764.

In the Name of God Amen I Judah Monis of Cambridge in the County of Middlesex in the Province of the Massts Bay in New England Gentleman being aged and infirm in body but of sound mind and memory do make this my last will and testament in form following namely first and principally I comend my soul into ye hands of God that gave it hoping & Trusting that of his Free Grace and Superabundant Mercy thro the Merits & Mediation of my Blessed Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ I may have ye pardon of All My Sins and obtain everlasting Life and my body I Commit to ye grave to be Decently buried—

I also will that all my real estate be sold by my executors herein after named or ye survivor of them and that ye proceeds of such sale be deposited in ye hands of ye Revd Messrs Nathaniel Appleton Minister of ye first Parish in Cambridge aforesaid, Ebenezer Gay of Hingham Minister of ye first Parish there, John Martin Minister of ye Second Parish in Westborough, Andrew Elliot of Boston Minister of a Church of Christ there, & Thomas Barnard of Salem, Minister of a Church of Christ there, or their respective successors in that office, for ye Relief of ye Poor Widows of ye Ministers of Christ in the Province aforesaid; in this form namely the Principal Sum to be let out on lawfull interest by the said Ministers and their said successors in the office aforesaid

forever and the Interest thereof Distributed by them or the major part of them as they, with ye advise of ye Convention of ye Ministers of ye Congregational perswasion at their Aniversary Meeting, shall judge proper forever, And I also give to ye said five Ministers & their said successors, for ye use of ye Poor Widows aforesaid, to be managed and apply'd for their Relief in Manner as aforesaid such part of my Personal Estate as shall not after my Decease be found in writeing under my hand Given or Disposed of to othere persons or uses and I will that such writeings by me so made be Deemed and Taken as part of my last Will and Testament and that my Executors Distribute such part of my Goods & Estate as is therein mentioned to ye persons & uses I may so Give the Same and I do appoint The honbl William Brattle esqr. the said John Martin and Captn Bezaliel Ager of Westborough aforesaid Executors of this my last will & Testament and order them to pay my Just Debts & Funeral Charges out of the said Residue of my Personal Estate Given for ye use of ye widows aforesd if it be sufft for that purpose if not out of ye Proceeds of ye sale of my Real Estate.

And revokeing all former wills and testaments by me made I do make this togeathere with the writeing or writings aforesaid to be by me made or sign'd my last will & Testament In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal This Seventh Day of November Anno Domini 1760—

J MONIS

Sign'd Sealed & Published by the said Judah Monis as his last will & Testament in presence of us ye subscribers who in his presence set to our hands as witnesses thereof

Sworn May 10: Edm' Trowbridge  
Edward Manning

Sworn July 16, 1760 Amos Marrett

Know all men by these Presents that I Judah Monis, Late of Cambridge in the County of Middlesex but now of Westborough in the County of Worcester—Gentelman In token of the grate Love and regard that I had for my late Dear Wife Abigail, and the esteem I had for her Relations, do give of my personal Estate to them to have and to hold after my Decease as Follows viz:

I give her Brother Edward Marrit Eight pounds in money of my Estate and No more.

I give to my said wifes Sister Susannah Witt such a Stone Ring that was my late wifes as She shall choose and No more for her Use While She Lives and if She dies before her present Husband then tis to be returned to her Sister Martyn or her heirs.

I also give to her Sister Martyn all my Beds and Bedding and Household Furniture and all the rest of my Moveable Estate not before Disposed of as Jewels, Rings, Plate Money; and whatsoever comes under the denomination of Personal Estate both what I have in Westboro: and in Brother Marretts keeping, but in case Sister Martyn should live to marry a Second Husband then my Will is that all the Furniture and Moveable Estate be Immediately delivered to her Children that shall be living upon her then marriage. As to my Negro Child Moreah I here confirm the disposal of her according to a written agreement interchangably Sign'd by me and Brother Martyn and I give to my Brother the Revd John Martyn all my Books whether in the Hebrew or Other Languages But in Case Brother Martyn sho'd Marry againe and have Children by a Second wife Such Children shall have no part of my Estate.

I give Sixty Pound in Money to Such of the Ministers of the Gospel in the County of Worcester of the Congregational Perswasion and duly ordaind as have not a Salary of at least sixty Pounds in the time Being to be equally divided among them.

I give to the Second Church of Christ in Westborough My Silver Tankard and Cup for the Use of the Communion Table, and to Deacon Livermore a Gold ring, and it is my will to give to Jemeima Carruth of Westborough three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence and the same sum to Mary Brewer of Concord In Case they shall behave them Selves well and marry within seven years after my Decease to Protestant Dessenters free from Scandal and otherwise to be given To such young woman or women on these terms as my Executors shall Judge proper, and whereas I have in my Last Will and testament Appointed the Honourable William Brattel Esqr. one of the Executors of my last Will and Testament, I do hereby revoke sd appointment confirming my appointment only of John Martyn and Capt. Bezaleel Eager of Westborough and in Case of the Decease of the last then Deacon Livermore of Westborough or of both the fore named then of Capt. Hood of sd Westborough and the above written I confirm as the Instrument for the disposal of my personal estate hereby revoking all other writings or instruments signed by me making them void and of no Effect Establishing this alone.

Witness my Hand the Second Day of May A. D. 1761 in the first year of his Majesties Reign

J. MONIS.

Sig's seald & Declared In Presents of  
Eliphalet Stone  
Nathan Goodell.  
Jonathan Livermore.



Whereas I the Subscriber have in the disposal of my Persnol Estate in my Last Will and Testemen bequeathed to Such Ministers of the Gospel of the Congregtinol perswasion, and duly ordain'd In the County of Worcester as have not Sixty Pounds a year Salary for the time being the Sum of Sixty Pounds to be equally divided among them. And now finding that dispsal would not answer my charitable Intention I have therefore seen cause to annul that Paragraph of my will and I do hereby annul and make it void and insted thereof declare it as my will plesuer that the said sum of Sixty pounds lawfull money be paid by my Executor to the following Gentlemen in the Ministry in equal proportions namely fifty pounds old Tenor to each viz to Messrs Gardner of Stow, Parkman of Westboro: Stone of Southborough, Harrington of Lancaster, Goss of Bolton, Davice of Holden, Fisk of Upton, Ruggels of New Brantrey & Wheeler of Harvard, to be paid to them if they survive me but in Case any of the before named Gentelman die before me then my will is that the said sum of fifty pounds old Tenor be given such others Ministers or Ministors that may most need it. In the Judgement of My Executor.

It is my further will and Pleasuer to give unto my Kinsman John Monis Martyn the Second Son of John Martyn Junr one Hundred Dollars to be paid out as soon as may be by my Executors in some new Township in Unimprov'd Land the Title to be in said John Monis Martyn which Land if he dies before He arrives to the age of twenty one years shall revert to his Brother Edward unless I shall see cause to Lay out sd sum in my Lifetime for the aforesd purpose which if I do as may be known by the Date of Said Deed or Deeds after this present wrighting then my Executors are to make no further provision for the said children as above expressed

Furthermore above and beyond what I have before bequeathed to Jemima Carruth it is my will that my Executors give her a good Callicoe Gown: And I declare this Codicil to be a part of my Last Will and Testament

In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal the Seventh Day of February A D 1762

J MONIS

Signd Sealed & Declar'd In presenc of  
Gideon Hayward  
Josiah Tenney  
Jona Livermore

DAVID NASSY OF SURINAM AND HIS "LETTRE  
POLITICO-THEOLOGICO-MORALE SUR  
LES JUIFS."<sup>1</sup>

By SIGMUND SEELIGMANN.

Although the extent of the literature on the Jews of Surinam exhibits marked progress and many papers on this topic in the *Publications* of our Society are of great importance, there are still a large number of points that require explanation. It is the purpose of the present paper to take up one of these unexplained points in the history of Surinam Jewry, one moreover which is of value for the history of the Jews in Holland.

Many persons of the name of Nassy have played a part in the history of Surinam; in general, the name is frequently

<sup>1</sup> Lettre-Politico-Theologico-Morale sur les Juifs. Dans laquelle on développe, le Principe de l'Egalité parmi les Hommes, le vrai sens de la Liberté, et l'esprit de plusieurs Dogmes Religieux et Rabiniques. Enrichie de plusieurs notes Historiques et Littéraires sur divers objects. *Post Tenebras, Spero Lucem.* Ecrite en François par D. Nassy, Dr. en Med. Membre de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphia, etc. Staatskundige, Godsdienstige, en Zedekundige brief over de Jooden. Waar by het grondbeginzel van Gelykheid van Staat onder de menschen, den waaren Zin van de Vrijheid, en den Geest van verscheidene Godsdienstige, en Rabbynsche Leerstellingen, ontwikkeld worden. Verrykt met Geschiedkundige en Letterkundige aantekeningen over verscheidene Onderwerpen. *Na de Duisternis verwagt ik het Licht.* In het Fransch geschreeven door D. Nassy, M. D. Lid in de Maatschappy van Wysbegeerte te Philadelphia enz., en in het Nederduitsch vertaald door A. Soulage jr. Te Paramaribo. Ter geprivilegeerde Drukkery van A. Soulage jr. 8vo. Pp. lxxxi, (17), 139, (i). In the present paper the lengthy title of this work is conveniently abbreviated to *Lettre* for purposes of reference.

met, as Professor Gottheil's essay entitled "Contributions to the History of the Jews of Surinam,"<sup>2</sup> as well as the list of "Marriages Solemnized at Surinam from 1642 to 1750," by the Rev. P. A. Hilfman,<sup>3</sup> show. It is therefore not a little difficult to analyze the genealogical relations of the different bearers of the name and there is some confusion with respect to the identity of the various persons known as Nassy. David Nassy, with whom we are now dealing, is mixed up with others.

Hannah Adams, in her "History of the Jews,"<sup>4</sup> tells us in the name of Malouet, the French commissioner,<sup>5</sup> of one Isaac Nasci, who was an extraordinary man if

we consider that he never has been out of Surinam, where he was born; received no aid but from his own genius, and has risen above the errors of his sect.

The same fact is related by I. M. Jost in his *Geschichte der Israeliten*.<sup>6</sup> M. Kayserling, in his essay *Die Juden in Surinam*,<sup>7</sup> having cited the foregoing from Hannah Adams, speaks thus of our author:

David I. C. Nasi, ohne Zweifel derselbe welcher Isaac Nasi genannt.

Later on we shall see that this is an entirely erroneous supposition, since the book we are here discussing discloses the fact that David Nassy did not always live in Surinam, and, being a doctor of medicine, he could not have been an autodidact. If my supposition is correct, David Nassy's father was named Isaac; but I am not at all sure that this Isaac Nassy is identical with Hannah Adams' Isaac.

<sup>2</sup> *Publications*, No. 9, p. 129 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 18, p. 186 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> London, 1818, p. 457 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> It appears from the *Essai Historique*, II, p. 56; Dutch translation, II, p. 48, that he was governor-general of Cayenne and that in 1776 he visited Surinam and the Savanna.

<sup>6</sup> Berlin, 1828, Vol. VIII, p. 267.

<sup>7</sup> In *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1859, Vol. VIII, p. 211.

We know but little of David Nassy. He must have been a person of considerable influence. On February 16, 1785, he signed a prospectus for the foundation of a college of letters in Surinam under the patronage of the *Gouverneur-Generaal* J. G. Wichers.<sup>8</sup> From an undated<sup>9</sup> letter of the *Gouverneur-Generaal*, probably written in March, 1785, we know that David de Is. C. Nassy was adjunct treasurer; therein he is appointed "Regent," and it was left to him to choose someone else as adjunct treasurer and to propose him to the commission of the Mahamad.

On October 12, 1785, we find him to be president of the "Regenten," under the name David de Is[aac] C[ohen] Nassy, for the centennial celebration of the founding of the Congregation Berachah we-Shalom in the Savanna.<sup>10</sup>

He was the first to sign the letter of the "Regenten" of the Portuguese Jewish nation of Surinam addressed March 10, 1786, to C. G. Dohm.<sup>11</sup> He was also one of the "Regenten en Representanten" of the Portuguese Jewish nation of Surinam who composed and signed on February 20, 1788, the *Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam*, dedicated to the *directeurs et regens de la colonie de Surinam, etc., etc., etc., resident à Amsterdam*. Although David de Is. C. Nassy is the fourth signatory, he was in all probability the principal author.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See *Essai Historique*, p. 182, end of the 2d part; Dutch translation, II, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 186 to p. 192; Dutch translation, II, pp. 151-156.

<sup>10</sup> *Beschrijving van de plechtigheden, etc.* Amsterdam [1786]; see *Publications*, No. 2, p. 29; *ibid.*, No. 3, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Essai Historique sur la Colonie de Surinam*. Paramaribo, 1788, p. xxi; Dutch translation, p. 16; see *Publications*, No. 13, p. 133. His signature is D. D. I. C. Nassy = David de Isaac Cohen Nassy.

<sup>12</sup> The "Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam, le tout redigé sur des pieces authentiques y jointes et mis en ordre par les régens et représentants de la nation Juive Portugaise, Paramaribo, 1788, 8vo, Tom. I de xxxviii + 192 pages. Tom. II de 193

From the *Lettre* itself, which I shall subject to a brief analysis, we gather some further particulars concerning David Nassy. I would, however, emphatically point out that in the title of this book the author speaks of himself only as David Nassy and not as David de Isaac Cohen Nassy. The possibility that these two names do not refer to the same person must be left to conjecture, but I firmly believe, for more than one good reason, that the two David Nassys are identical.

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+ 3 blankes pages" belongs to the great bibliographical curiosities. G. A. Kohut, in his "Les Juifs dans les colonies Hollandaises" (*Revue des Études Juives*, XXXI, 297), mentions two copies of it as being in London, one in the British Museum and the other in possession of Lucien Wolf. At the "Vente 3 Avril 1911 chez Burgersdyk en Niermans-Leyde No. 3078" was a copy bought by the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana (University Library), Amsterdam. Another copy is mentioned in the "Catalogo da . . . Livraria . . . Annibal Fernandes Thomaz," No. 1841, which was sold at Lisbon on March 18, 1912. The Dutch translation, too, is very rare. Its title is as follows: "Geschiedenis der Kolonie van Suriname . . . geheel op nieuw samengesteld door een gezelschap van geleerde Joodsche Mannen aldaar. Te Amsterdam en Harlingen by Allart en van der Plaats, 1791," 8vo, II, 204, 160 pages. Of this a copy is owned by the University Library, Amsterdam. The copy I own was purchased by me from Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, and is mentioned in his catalogue, *Geographie-Voyages*, 1910, No. 1326. Of this Dutch translation of the *Essai historique* there is a so-called second edition. But only the title-page and the last leaf of the first volume, page 203 and page 204, have been reprinted; the remainder is the old book. The title has been changed, too. It now reads: "Geschied en handelkundig tafereel van de Bataafsche West-Indische Colonien byzonderlijk van Suriname namengesteld uit echte bescheiden en op gronden van onderzinking. Nieuwe Uitgave. Amsterdam, C. Timmer, 1802." The dedication of the first edition has been omitted and replaced by a preface to the reader. 204 + 160 pages. A copy of this so-called second edition, much rarer than the first, is also in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, and formed No. 1070 of the auction-catalogue of Levisson, Amsterdam, November 29, 1909. From the *Lettre* we learn some further particulars about this important book, import-



From the *Lettre* we learn that David Nassy was a doctor of medicine and lived for some time as such in Philadelphia. We read in the introduction:

The reception that this essay will have, will tell me if I shall have to publish a Memoir which I have composed during my residence in Philadelphia on the improvement of the Colony of Surinam, and in which I have tried to point out the influences at work to check this prosperity; comparing them with those that have brought about the extension and wealth of the Colony of St. Domingo and the Islands down the wind, before this Colony changed for the worse.

This Memoir was sent to Holland (as MS.) in May, 1795, to the new Government of that time; I do not yet know what its reception was, for since my arrival here, I have received nothing but the acknowledgment of its coming to hand.<sup>13</sup>

David Nassy must thus have returned to Surinam shortly after May, 1795, and must have resided in St. Thomas previous to his visit to Philadelphia. He relates<sup>14</sup> that, when in St. Thomas, he became acquainted with d'Almeida, a Portuguese Jew, who rendered good service to Admiral Zoutman at the battle of Doggersbank (August 5, 1781), and that he saw there the recommendation of Count von Elderen and the epaulettes and medals given him by the *Stadtholder*.

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ant not only with regard to the history of the Jews, but also and in no small degree with regard to the political and economic history of the colony, for which there do not appear to be other sources. On page lxxv (page lxxvi of the Dutch) of the preface to the *Lettre*, Nassy writes in a note: "L'Essai Historique sur Surinam, ouvrage décrit dans cette Colonie, traduit en deux langues en Europe et dont les journalistes François et Anglois, ont parle avec avantage; doit me faire appréhender le sort de celui ci; cependant je me flatte que les honnêtes gens qui composent la partie sensée de cette Colonie, et ceux de l'Europe, pèseront cette ouvrage dans la balance de la justice, et de l'équité." Up to this writing we know of only one translation in Europe, the Dutch; according to this passage there must be another. Perhaps an English translation may be discovered.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. lxxvii-lxxix.

<sup>14</sup> *Lettre*, p. iii.

Thus, as has been stated, Nassy returned to Surinam after May, 1795, and we acquire additional information concerning him from a letter of thanks to him which Professor Gottheil has republished<sup>15</sup> in an English translation.

This letter is written in the name of His Royal Highness. It is surely highly interesting that the copy of the *Lettre* belonging to the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, of Amsterdam, and bought at the auction of the library of Annibal Fernandes Thomas, of Lisbon,<sup>16</sup> which I have made use of in the preparation of this paper, on its frontispiece bears the following authentic author's dedication:

Para Sua Excellencia. O Illustrissimo e Excellentissimo Senhor Dom Francisco de Souza Coutinho S. T. Pelo Autor Seu obsequio e umilde criado Dd. Nassy. Surinam 24 Abril 1800.

In other words, this is the copy sent by David Nassy to Lisbon to the man who, by the order of the Portuguese Government, had addressed a letter of thanks to him. *Habent sua fata libelli!*

And now at last for the book itself! It is doubtless exceedingly rare and I have the notion that none of the previous writers who mention it has ever seen it. For instance, if he had seen it would the Rev. Mr. Hilfman have written thus<sup>17</sup> of the *Lettre*:

but as a matter of course one need not look out for new indications [on the history of the Jews] as this work in general does not deal with history?

As a matter of fact we have seen already, and it will be shown in the sequel, that quite a fair number of historical statements render the *Lettre* of great importance. The dedication of the book to the "*Gouverneur-Generaal* of Surinam and dependent Districts" is dated Surinam, Paramaribo, 10th December, 1798. Nassy wrote it in the French language, and it was

<sup>15</sup> *Publications*, No. 9, pp. 143-144.

<sup>16</sup> March 18, 1912, No. 3489.

<sup>17</sup> *Publications*, No. 16, p. 8.

translated and published by A. Soulage, Jr., who was at the time the owner of the Privileged Printing Office. The French text on the left faces the Dutch translation on the right. We learn from page lxi of the introduction that the book had been written two years previously and would then have been published, but for the fact that the translator who was at the same time the printer, lacked the necessary leisure. The written dedication in the copy lying before me is dated April 24, 1800; since the title-page bears no date I fancy that two years must have elapsed between the date of the printed dedication (December 10, 1798) and the date of the publication of the work.

In a lengthy preface our author dwells on the idea of the natural equality of man, as a basis for all the social duties. We read:

I deem myself a patriot, but a patriot in a sense widely different from that in which it is generally understood as such; I love my native country, despite its injustices towards me.<sup>18</sup>

I have endeavored to find the Memoir which Nassy sent from Philadelphia to Holland in 1795 at the General Government Record Office at the Hague, but without success.<sup>19</sup> In all likelihood it contains such particulars about Nassy's life as could throw light on the injustices on the part of the governing authorities to which he alluded in the *Lettre*. It may be presumed that these injustices induced him to depart from Surinam and to live for some time in St. Thomas and Philadelphia.

<sup>18</sup> P. xvii.

<sup>19</sup> Under date of December 23, 1912, Professor R. Fruin, keeper of the public archives at the Hague, informed me that he could not find David Nassy's Memoir among the letters and documents received at the West Indian Committee in 1795 and 1796 from Surinam, nor in the collection known as "Divers West Indian Documents," nor even in the minutes of the Committee, 1795 to 1797, nor in the resolutions of the *Staten-Generaal* for 1795 and until February 28, 1796. I must record my thanks to Professor Fruin for the investigations to find this Memoir, which he caused to be instituted.

The preface of the *Lettre* continues to dwell on liberty in a political sense, and, on page xxxv, comes to the conclusion that

All men must have equal rights, equal privileges; birth, religion, wealth and rank taken together do not create inequality; only virtue, talents, character, though this be useful or dangerous to the state, vices and inability must form the bases of inequality among the individual members of a State.

This hypothesis is the starting-point from which he discusses the position of the Jews. Then, having dwelt at length on the general ruling opinions, he comes to set forth the real cause of his writing the *Lettre*.

Political affairs in Holland had undergone a great change by reason of the arrival of the French in the country. On February 6, 1795, a club with the motto *Felix libertate*, most of the members of which were Jews, was established. Its leaders aimed at the emancipation of the Jews; their first demand was for enfranchisement. It would take us too far afield to relate how they obtained it, but mention may be made of the fact that in some places strong opposition against the enfranchisement of the Jews, and against their admission to the army, developed. Amsterdam, Gouda, Diel and, as we shall see, Dordrecht were among the towns that most violently were opposed to any measure having the equality of the Jews with other citizens for its object.

The number of Dutch pamphlets for and against the emancipation of the Jews is very large.<sup>20</sup> One of these opposing the

<sup>20</sup> They are calendared with a fair degree of completeness in Jacob da Silva Rosa's *Bibliographie der Literatur über die Emanzipation der Juden in Holland*, Frankfurt a/M, 1912, 8vo. In the preface to this work the writers on the subject of the emancipation are mentioned. See, also, L. Knappert's *Geschiedenis der Hervormde Kerk onder de Republiek en het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1912, Vol. II, pp. 117-121, 209-220; my own essay "De Emancipatie der Joden in Nederland," is published in the first year book of the *Centrale Organisatie voor de religieuze en moreele verheffing der Joden in Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1913, pp. 277-305. See, *infra*, pp. 124, 125 (paper by M. Silber).

Jewish claims in especially sharp and bitter words was put forth by the Dordrecht Club "For the Maintenance of Liberty and Equality" (*Tot behoud van Vrijheid en Gelijkheid*). David Nassy felt it incumbent upon himself to answer its arguments, and, although meanwhile Jewish emancipation in Holland had been finally achieved by the law of September 2, 1796, he wrote and published his work.

This counter-plea is the real gist of the *Lettre*, which thus in a sense is part of the literature on the emancipation of the Jews in Holland.

Following the extensive preface of which I have already spoken, Nassy placed the entire Dordrecht pamphlet in his pages and accompanied it with a French translation. The title of the pamphlet is:

Bericht van de Volks-Vergadering, Tot behoud van Vrijheid en Gelykheid binnen Dordrecht, op de Uitschrijvings-Brief, van het Committee van Briefwisseling en Beschrijving van Afgevaardigden uit een groot aantal Burger- en Volks-Vergaderingen, Societeiten en verdere Vaderlandslievende lichaamen in de Republicq der Bataaven, haare Zitting houdende in den Haage.

And the signature of the pamphlet is as follows:

The Committee for Correspondence, in the name of the same, F. Duffer C. Z., Secretary. Dordrecht, August 17, 1795. The first year of the liberty of the Batavian Republic.

Curiously enough not a single copy, so far as I know, of the original pamphlet has been found and there is none even in the Dordrecht Record Office, from the information furnished me. The original *Lettre* is in letter-form, and the superscription is: *Mon ch  r Ami*. In the opening sentences Nassy tells us how in the *Surinaamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*,<sup>21</sup> an article appeared on the admittance of the Jews in Holland to the rights of active citizenship; doubtless this was a reprint of the Dordrecht pamphlet. A friend having asked him for his opinion thereof, he was reluctant to express it, yet desirous of

<sup>21</sup> No. 107, probably dating from 1795.



pointing out the erroneous arguments of the pamphleteer. First he then speaks of the position of the Jews in Holland, and their share in the commerce of the country. For this he drew on information gathered by other writers, and, as in the preface to the *Essai historique*, a number of prominent Jews are mentioned and special reference made to some scholars.<sup>22</sup>

He considered at length the persecution by Christians in the name of religion of those belonging to other faiths, and shows by means of statistics (page 33) that up to the time of writing 17,188,000 persons had fallen victims to Christian fanaticism.

In the counter-plea of the pamphlet itself, Nassy formulated the criticisms of the Jews into five accusations, to which he then replied with some degree of verbosity. I shall give here briefly each accusation and the reply thereto.

Accusation I (page 37). "The Jews have always lived apart from other Nations and do not look upon Christians as their brethren. Hence they are strictly forbidden to marry a person of another nation."

In his reply Nassy shows from Biblical history that hostilities were begun by those of other nations and not by the Jews. For the same reason marriages between the two races are forbidden. Throughout the Middle Ages and in later times the severest punishments sanctioned by the law of the land were reserved for such a Jew as married a non-Jewish woman. In Nassy's day this had already been changed. In Philadelphia—so he must be speaking of the period before 1795—and elsewhere

there are the Maraches, the Armrings, the Cohens, the Hombergs, the Wallachs, the Solises and several other families lawfully married to Christian women who go to their own churches, the men going to their synagogues, and who, when together, frequent

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<sup>22</sup> Among them is de Rocamora, M. D., of Leiden, whom Nassy regards as the anonymous author of *La Bible enfin expliquée par les aumôniers du Roi de Prusse*, 1776, long attributed, as Nassy admits, to Voltaire.

the best society; the brother of the late Minister Hamilton, who died at Boston, left a Jewess as his lawful widow, and she is still alive.<sup>23</sup>

Accusation II (page 53). "It was due to the bad faith of the Jews that Nebuchadnezzar and Titus conquered Jerusalem and that Hadrian banished them from Palestine. The Jews have always been suspected and even if they turn Christians they will hide their Judaism only for the advantage it gives them, as they did in Spain and Portugal."

Here, too, Nassy answers the misrepresented historical facts in minute details. He discussed the different revolutions in various countries and showed that those who brought about the new order of things cannot be called unfaithful to the old. This principle holds good for the Jews too.

Accusation III (page 67). "Notwithstanding the haughtiness of the Jews, they have always exhibited themselves as toadies when in distress. This was seen in their attitude towards Alexander the Great. The history of Holland in the years 1784-1787 discloses their unpatriotic behavior, for they sided with the Prince of Orange."

In treating the history of ancient times Nassy quoted from many previous writers. This he did also in replying to the first two accusations. However, he was not in possession of printed information on the above period from 1784 to 1787 in Dutch history. The reason, probably, why he did not choose to answer this accusation was because it was generally known that the great mass of the Jews under the Batavian Republic, and even subsequently, were followers of the house of Orange. They were among the first to hail the return of Prince William of Orange in 1813 and 1814 with rejoicing. He was later on the first sovereign, King William I. Nassy merely remarked that the above period was of too recent a date to bear impartial discussion; Christians and Jews were found among the followers of the two parties.

Accusation IV (page 75). "The Jewish expectation of the Messiah is incongruous with Republican principles."

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<sup>23</sup> P. 43.

Nassy made a twofold reply to this accusation. First he adopted the view of those who awaited the arrival of the Messiah, and asked the accuser: If the Jews were justified in awaiting their Messiah, the Lord will send him to us regardless of whether they have the rights of citizenship in the Batavian Republic or not. The members of the Dordrecht club do not believe that the Lord will perform such a miracle, and regard the Messiah as having come already. How, then, comes it that you fear the king of a people shorn of power, unable to aid? Nassy, finally, explained his own position on the question of the Messiah and viewed the whole subject in a strong, rationalistic and critical light.

Accusation V (page 93). "Besides arguing against the extension of equal rights with other burghers to the Jews, the pamphleteer fears that in the event of Jewish emancipation in Holland the danger of an invasion of the country by German Jews was imminent."

Nassy's reply to this takes two forms. First he gave an account of the position of the Jews in Germany and Austria, and came to the conclusion that it was by no means as repressed as would appear from the expressed fears of the Dordrecht club. In an additional chapter, he discussed the population. Holland lacked soldiers and sailors, and it were well if the Jews were accepted as such. Here he narrated some remarkable particulars, which are worthy of mention here. Thus,<sup>24</sup> he says:

And was it not shown in the last American war that the Dutch vessels were manned by Jewish sailors, who had seen naval service despite their fidelity to the Jewish ritualistic ceremonies?<sup>25</sup> Did

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<sup>24</sup> P. 101.

<sup>25</sup> See E. van Biema's "Het Nederlandsche Zeewezen en de Amsterdamsche Joden in het einde der 18e Eeuw," in *Amsterdamsche Jaarboekje*, 1901; my article on this subject in the *Centraal Blad voor Israelieten in Nederland*, XVI, No. 36 (1900); Dohm's letter, published by L. Geiger in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, V, p. 89; *Jaarboeken voor de*

not German Jews from Amsterdam propose to drain the Haarlem marshes for some trifling privileges by way of compensation? Have not the opponents of Jewish emancipation declined to do this work, as difficult for them as it was advantageous to the Government? Has not Heer Van den Heuvel proposed, in his Memoir which received a prize from the Society for Philosophy of Haarlem, to encourage and even compel the Jews to erect manufactories for carpets, china and glass and other products hitherto not represented in Holland?

Besides considering the profits derived by Holland from her trade with the Levant, exclusively in the hands of the Jews, Nassy alluded to the participation of the Jews in the commerce with the colonies and concluded by giving their history in Surinam.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, he pointed out that the Jews were not at all averse to engaging in military service and again showed that, in the American war, the Jews served in the Dutch fleet, in which enterprise they had had the blessing of the rabbis of Amsterdam.

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*Israelieten in Nederland*, 1835, I, p. 55; "Recherches sur l'état des juifs en Hollande," in *Gedenkstukken der algemeene geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840*, part V, I, p. 271, edited by H. T. Colenbrander in *Rijksgechiedkundige Publicatiën*, The Hague, 1910, Vol. XI.

<sup>26</sup> Nassy, in a note on page 113, adds: "Have they [the Jews of Surinam] not been invited to contribute towards the erection of an educational institution for the children of all sects? And have not a few prominent members of the Portuguese Jewish nation subscribed the sum of Fr. 58,930? Have they been supported in this laudable work? Have they been mentioned in despatches or obtained some other sign of approval on the part of those who could give such? On the contrary, as so splendid a plan could not be disapproved of, it has been suffered to stand in silence in order that the poor victims of prejudice might not receive praise." See *Prospectus d'une Maison d'Education ou Seminaire d'Enfans à la Savanne des Juifs: écrit en Portugais, et trad. en Holl. et en Franç.* (pp. 24-75: Texte Holl. et Franç.), printed by A. Soulage, Jr., Paramaribo, 1796. See *Catalogue Frederik Muller*, Amsterdam, January, 1864, No. 563.

In view of all these facts, Nassy concluded, there was no reason to fear the influence of able Jewish settlers in Holland.

Having thus answered the several accusations of the Dordrecht pamphlet, Nassy discussed in an appendix the question whether the Jews constitute a nation. In the words of Rabout de St. Etienne,<sup>27</sup> substituting "Dutchmen" and "Jews" for "Frenchmen" and "Protestants," he declared the rule of conduct to be equality for all men, quite apart from the countries they inhabit and the religions they profess!

I trust that what I have here said concerning David Nassy sufficiently proves that among the champions of the emancipation of the Jews in Holland his name should occupy an honored place in our remembrance.

<sup>27</sup> *L'Opinion de Rabout de St. Etienne*, 1789.



THE CHAPTERS OF ISAAC THE SCRIBE:  
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RARITY,  
NEW YORK, 1772.

BY SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

Richa Franks, whose first name is sometimes spelled in the records Ritchie and sometimes Richie, was the daughter of Jacob Franks, a prominent Jewish merchant of New York, who died in that city on January 16, 1769, at an advanced age. She is not mentioned in the genealogy of the Franks family as given by Mr. Israel Solomons in No. 18 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*. A notice of her father's death appeared in Holt's *New York Journal or General Advertiser* of Thursday, January 26, 1769. In it he is described as an eminent merchant of the city; a gentleman of a most amiable character; in his family a tender and affectionate husband; a very indulgent parent and kind master; as a merchant upright and punctual in all his dealings; as a citizen humane and benevolent; a friend to the poor of all denominations; affable and friendly in his behavior to all. The notice continues:

He is now gone to receive from the Supreme Being, whom he adored, his reward among the faithful. The memorial of the righteous is blessed. On Tuesday his remains were decently interred in the Jews' Burying Place, attended by a great number of his friends.

Jacob Franks left no will, and on January 31, 1769, his wife Abigail being also dead, his daughter Richa and John Harris Cruger were appointed administrators of his estate. Richa soon after determined to leave the country for London where two of her brothers, Naphtali and Moses, resided. Another brother, David, lived in Philadelphia. The names of Naphtali

and Abigail also do not appear in Mr. Solomons' genealogy. Richa's relationship to Jacob Franks is shown in the memorandum of her appointment as administratrix, while that of Naphtali and Abigail is shown in an official certificate on record in the office of the Register of New York County.

Richa's departure was reported in the same newspaper under date of Thursday, June 22, 1769, thus:

Tuesday sailed for London the Ship Dutches of Gordon, Capt. Winn, in whom went Passengers, her Grace the Dutchess of Gordon, the Lady of his Excellency Sir Henry Moore, Col. Staats Morris; Master Billy Gage, Son of his Excellency the General, Miss Ritchie Franks, Miss Burges, Miss Conor, Capt. Davis, of the Royal Artillery, Capt. Stanton, and about twenty other passengers.

The full name of the captain of the ship appears from another news item of the ship's departure on a subsequent trip and from a reference to his earlier command, to be found in the "Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts," II, p. 741. It was Isaac Lascelles Winn. Elsewhere he is described in 1767 as a merchant, of New York, and in 1773 as a captain, of London.<sup>1</sup> His first name is referred to further on.

The Duchess of Gordon (spelled Dutchess in the account) was the wife of Col. Staats Long Morris, a brother of Lewis Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was an officer in the British Army, but was not in this country during the Revolutionary War. He later became a General and was appointed Governor of Quebec in 1797, dying in 1800.<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Moore was Governor of the Province of New York during the Stamp Act troubles and sought to pacify the people and prevent trouble. He died in September, 1769, highly esteemed by the inhabitants of the city. Of Capt. Davis of the Royal Artillery we gather from a sketch of him, to be

<sup>1</sup> See Liber 38, page 153, and Liber 40, page 470, of Conveyances, New York County.

<sup>2</sup> See "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," Vol. VIII, p. 187, note.

referred to, that he served in the war against the French and took part under Jeffery in the expedition against Canada. Sir Jeffery Amherst is here meant.

One of the passengers on the ship amused himself during the voyage by sketching, in scriptural verse divided into chapters, his prominent fellow passengers, and several years later his composition was offered to John Holt, the publisher of the same *New York Journal or General Advertiser*, in a note which appeared in the issue of September 10, 1772, reading as follows:

Mr. Holt.

As the performance which I now send you has contributed much to my entertainment, and contains a considerable share of merit, I am induced to believe it will not be unacceptable to the public:—It was with other pieces of a similar nature composed at sea on board the *Dutchess of Gordon* by a gentleman who gave many of his leisure hours to the exhibition of his friend's virtues:—The passengers whose characters he has in this agreeable manner delineated were the Dut—s of G—d-n, Lady M—e, Miss R—e Fr—ks, Col. St—s M—s, and Capt. D—s.

These little essays were all written hastily and have had no revisal, being pieces which the author designed only for the amusement of a week or two.

If you think proper to publish this I shall take heed that you have the remaining ones.

I am yours &c.

A. B.

From the news notice of 1769 we can readily fill out the blanks in these names. They are the Duchess of Gordon, Lady Moore, Ritchie Franks, Col. Staats Morris and Capt. Davis. All of these were on the *Dutchess of Gordon*, which sailed from New York for London on June 20, 1769.

The same issue of 1772 has two chapters of the contribution. These and the subsequent chapters speak of Americkites, Albionites, Yorkites, Pennsylvanianites, Scotites, Canadites, Hiberniansites, which are intended for Americans, Englishmen, New Yorkers, etc.

The two chapters were headed respectively "STAATIUS and GORDONA, or the First Chapter of the first Book of ISAAC the SCRIBE" and "Book the first, Chapter the Second," the first consisting of nineteen and the second of thirty-seven verses.

They give an account of Staatius, by whom Staats Long Morris is meant. He is described as

of the people of the west, even of the Americkites, a man of great stature and comely, and his fathers were honourable in the land in which they dwelt, men of substance and rulers. And his brethren were councillors and law givers and judges of the people, but Staatius was a Captain of the King's host.

After reciting various incidents in his life, his marriage to Gordona, a princess of a great house in the land of the Scotites, a description is given of his trip with his wife to the city of brotherly love, the city of the Pennsylvanianites, and of the visit of both to Staatius' lands situated among the nations of the wilderness.<sup>3</sup> Then comes a number of verses relating to his visit with Gordona to the Indians in the neighborhood, the friendly reception tendered them by the chiefs, and then their return to the land of the Yorkites where Staatius' family dwelt, and finally their determination to go to the land of the Albionites whence Gordona had come. In the verses relating to their proposed return occurs the first mention of Isaac the Scribe whom the author, probably to conceal the real character, apparently intended the reader to believe was the captain of the ship, whose first name as we have seen was Isaac. Though described in the sketch as a man of parts in seamanship his qualification as a scribe is not pointed out. These verses, the last three of the second chapter, read:

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<sup>3</sup> This refers to a tract of many acres which Staats Long Morris owned on the upper Susquehanna, in Otsego County, N. Y. See "Calendar of Land Papers, N. Y.," pp. 257, 258, 261, 658. The visit is mentioned in Singleton's "Social New York under the Georges," New York, 1902, pp. 382-3.

35. So Staatius and Gordona took leave of the Kings and the chief elders, the sachems and the warriors of the wilderness, and returned unto the city of the Yorkites, where Staatius his brethren dwelt.

36. And after certain days they took council together, saying, let us go to the city of the Albionites, and when they had communed together, Staatius said unto Gordona, behold the great ship prepareth to sail, even the ship of Isaac the scribe, which is called after thy name, let us go therein.

37. And the thing seemed good unto Gordona, and she said let us go for the man is of good repute, no wine bibber, neither a lover of strong drink—moreover the ship is good.

The third and fourth chapters appeared in the issue of September 17, 1772. The third was headed "The third Chapter of the first Book of Isaac the Scribe," and consisted of ten verses. It is here given in full as being of interest in connection with the title of the work and in its relation to the following chapter which treats of Richie. Written as it is in scriptural style the whole makes easy reading.

1. And when Isaac heard those things he rejoiced and was exceeding glad, saying in his heart, it is not then for nothing that I have listened to the voice of instruction, neither hath her precepts been in vain.

2. Behold I have found favour in the sight of the great, and the mighty have me in esteem, so he rejoiced exceedingly.

3. Now Isaac was an Albionite of a good stock, and of an ancient house, his forefathers were honourable in the land of their nativity—for many generations.

4. And he was accounted a stout mariner, and skilful when the storms arise, and the tempest rageth in its violence, and the ship reeleth to and fro, and is tossed of the waves, he feareth not, neither is he dismayed.

5. For he had dwelt in the waters from his youth upwards, and delighted in ships all his days, albeit his heart was not hardened, after the manner of seamen, neither delighted he in the joys of the vulgar.

6. His eyes were open to the beauties of nature, and he listened with transport to the words of the poet, the voice of music, and the eyes of the virgin melted his soul, therefore was his heart not hardened.



7. Moreover he was learned in all the knowledge of the Caldeans: In the dead of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, he beheld the stars of the firmament with judgment, and ordered the ways of the ship aright.

8. Thro' the mighty deep as over a plain he directeth his path, neither in darkness nor in thick mists, strayed he out of the way.

9. Behold he commandeth his mariners, saying, thus, and thus, and they obey his voice, and turn the ship as he listeth, even as one turneth a chariot to the right hand or to the left.

10. Therefore was he accounted skilfull in shipping and cunning in the things appertaining thereto—moreover his ship was good.

The next chapter is headed "RICHIE. The fourth Chapter of the first Book of Isaac the Scribe." From what has already been said, and the context of the chapter, there can be no doubt that Richa Franks, the daughter of Jacob Franks, who was on the ship, was meant. In this character sketch we have a pleasant glimpse of the lady of whom nothing, in the historical annals of her family has, so far as we know, been heretofore written. It is well worthy of reproduction and preservation. This chapter, containing twenty-two verses, printed as in the original, reads:

1. Now Richie was an Hebrew of the tribe of Benjamin an Israelite, in whom there was no guile, and her father's name was Jacob, a just man and full of mercy.

2. He had sojourned in the land of the Americkites many years, and he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, all his days; and the Lord blessed him, and multiplied his store exceedingly in the land wherein he dwelt; and he had sons and daughters, and men servants, and maid servants, a great number.

3. And when Jacob was full of days and full of honour, he slept with his fathers, and was gathered in peace; and his memory was as a precious ointment sending forth fresh fragrance.

4. Then said Richie, what do I here, seeing that my father and my mother are no more, behold I will get me to the land of the Albionites, and to the city of my brethren?

5. So she entered into the ship, she and her man servant, and her maid servant; moreover she had an handmaid, an Ethiopian, whose skin was as the jet of the merchants, exceeding black and shining.

6. And Richie worshipped the God of her fathers, even of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, according to all the commandments wherewith he commanded his servant Moses.

7. She went not after other Gods, neither professed she in Jesus, the son of Mary, albeit the precepts of his law practised she continually, doing unto all men as she would they should do unto her; yea doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly before her God,—the same is the law, the prophets, and the gospel.

8. Moreover she was meek and charitable, her heart was soft as the—bosom of compassion, tender as the eye of pity—

9. As the dew of the Heaven lighteth on the top of mount Hermon, refreshing the parched ground, even so her benevolence descended in silence on the children of adversity, and her alms rejoiced the hearts of the poor.

10. In the hour of affliction, in the moment of despair, when they said, there is no salvation; her messengers came suddenly upon them, they lifted up their heads, and were glad, and glorified God because of her goodness, saying,

11. Blessed be the name of the Lord, for he regardeth the poor and the lowly; he softeneth the hearts of the mighty, and the rich pour forth of their abundance to the children of providence.

12. Therefore blessed be the name of the Lord, and blessed be thou oh Richie; may the Lord prolong thy days in the land wherein thou dwellest, may the years of thy happiness be multiplied exceedingly.

13. And when the fulness of days shall be upon thee, and thou shall desire to go hence and be at peace, may thy spirit be received into Abraham's bosom, and thy memory be had in everlasting remembrance amongst the good.

14. Thus as the breath of paradise, as the insence of the spring ascends on the wings of the morning, even so ascend continually the deeds of Richie; borne on the prayers of the poor, they reach the throne of the most High, and are accepted of God, blessed for ever, in whom there is no shadow of turning.

15. Albeit Richie was a fearful woman, and exceeding timorous in the night watches, when the winds rose, and the ship was tossed of the waves, she sent unto Isaac, saying, tell me I pray thee, how is it.

16. Then Isaac deceived her with soft words, saying, verily it is nothing, therefore sleep thou in peace, and I will watch; nevertheless her lamp burnt continually, neither slept she by night, because of her fear.

17. Therefore did Isaac deceive her, saying, I would it were ten times so much, is it not the prime of the year, how then can there be danger?

18. And when he saw that Richie believed him not, he spake jestingly, saying, woe is me miserable man, that I am, how shall I abide the winter, when the tempest rageth continually with rain and with hail, and with much snow, and a length of night, when the moon and the stars are hid the firmament, and the sun is not seen of many days, seeing that even now there is such danger.

19. And when Richie heard those words, she said in her heart, what manner of men be these, they laugh at the tempest, and make a mock at danger; the rains wet them, and the snows fall upon them, and they shrink not; in the midst of the deep they are merry, and on the top of the mast they sing.

20. Thou who hast made the heavens and the earth, the seas and all that are therein, hath surely hardened them, that they may endure it for the good of thy creatures,—so Richie pitied the seamen exceedingly, and she said unto Isaac, nay: but tell me of a truth I conjure thee, are not thou afraid?

21. And Isaac answered and said, the Lord God who hath said unto the waves of the sea, thus far shall ye come and no further—Him I fear oh Richie, and I have no other fear.

22. Be comforted for the arm of the Lord is not shortened, neither is the ancient of days waxed weak, the hand of his providence is over all his works, and unto him the sea is as the dry land; hath he not measured the ocean in the hollow of his hand, are not the seas to him as the drop of the bucket—so Richie was comforted.

The next chapter appeared in the issue of September 24, 1772, and was headed "DAVISIUS, or the Fifth Chapter of the First Book of Isaac the Scribe," and consisted of twenty-five verses. It treats of Davisius, a captain of the King's host, an Albionite, who was over the Battering Rams (which a note says meant Captain in the Train of Artillery), and engines of war. He went against the Canadites with Jeffery the leader of the King's host, and after succeeding returned to the city of the Yorkites where

he fell in love with a fair young damsel of the Americkites, and she was beautiful to look upon. . . . Oh she was lovely. Yes

she was altogether lovely. Wherefore the heart of Davisius cleaved unto her.

But his father in Albion growing old asked his son to come to him, and therefore Davisius also entered the ship.

Davisius is also described as an idolator because he was a painter. The following reference to his idolatry, using Old Testament language, is worth quoting:

1. . . . And behold he was an Idolator.

2. For albeit it is written, thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven Image, no likeness of anything that is in the Heavens above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth.

3. Nevertheless Davisius made unto himself the likeness of everything that is in the Heavens above and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth.

4. Neither was there anything the likeness whereof he made not for himself. Therefore was he an Idolator.

5. Also in other things Davisius transgressed not, neither sinned he, save only in his Idolatry with which he beguiled the people; moreover he was of good repute in the land.

A note adds. "He is an excellent painter."

The allusion to Davisius as a painter may have been intended for Benjamin West who, according to the latest biographical accounts of that celebrity, had been a soldier before becoming a painter. Though his parents were Quakers he is said not to have been one himself. It is possible also that Copley was meant instead of West. The author no doubt intentionally described Davisius in such a way as to mislead the reader regarding the identity of the captain.

No chapter appeared in the next issue, October 1, but on October 8, 1772, the sixth chapter was printed. This was headed "CATHERINE, and the LITTLE MAIDEN, or the Sixth Chapter of the First Book of Isaac the Scribe," and consisted of twenty-five verses. It treats of Catherine, the wife of Henry surnamed Moore, the King's servant,

who ruled over the land of the Yorkites from the borders of the salt sea, even unto the lakes of the wilderness, a very great country.

After reciting the virtues of Sir Henry and his defence, to the King, of the Americkites because of their opposition to the tax gatherers of the King, it relates the determination of Catherine to return to Albion where her son dwelt,

and so she entered into the ship, even the ship of Isaac the Scribe.

She took with her a little maiden whom she had adopted as an infant when the latter's mother, an Hiberniansitess, died. The child's father had been a captain of fifty. For her benevolence Catherine was praised by all the people.

The writer, in an apostrophe to the child on her good fortune in being taken care of by the great, uses the following significant language:

But the Lord who is strong to save, the God of Israel who is mighty to deliver, helped thee even in the day of thy adoption.

No further chapters appeared in subsequent issues.

In the numbers of December 10 and 17, 1772, and January 21, 1773, the following advertisement was printed:

The Chapters of ISAAC the SCRIBE, lately published in this Paper, being much called for, are republished in a small pamphlet, and may be had of the Printer of this Paper.

This advertisement shows that the contribution sent in by A. B. was regarded as of some importance to the reading public of the day, and its repetition after a month's interval leaves no doubt that the pamphlet was actually printed and for sale. Many copies were probably sold and these may have contained concluding chapters. Yet it is a remarkable fact that no mention of it appears in any of the bibliographies. It is not in Sabin, Evans, or the British Museum catalogue, nor in the catalogues of any of the larger libraries. Inquiry of the principal libraries in the United States brought answer that no copy of the pamphlet is to be found in any of them, and that it had not been heard of by any of the librarians, all of whom expressed a lively interest in the inquiry but could give no clue to the author. Information was also sought of de-



scendants of Jacob Franks both in New York and in London but without result. The pamphlet is a bibliographical rarity.

Who was the author? The title apparently was chosen to designate the captain of the ship about whose passengers some account was given. It is not likely that the captain could have written in the strain shown by the verses. Nothing in them, in the letter of A. B., or in the references to him or our knowledge of him would indicate him to have been the writer. As captain of the ship and attending to his duties incident to a voyage across the Atlantic, he would scarcely have had the time to spare to compose these verses, the preparation of which must have involved considerable thought. We can therefore conclude that the Chapters of Isaac the Scribe were not written by Captain Isaac Lascelles Winn of the good ship *Dutchess of Gordon*.

Who was A. B. whose initials appear at the end of the letter to the publisher? These initials, the first of the alphabet, were probably pseudonymic, and, with the allusion to a friend as the writer, were no doubt selected as sufficient for anonymity.

The writer, throughout his contribution, displayed great familiarity with Biblical language, and judging from that fact may have been a minister or a close student of the Bible. We have an instance in the American literature of this period of a non-theologian deceiving many by his close imitation of scriptural writing, in composing a chapter devoted to Abraham of old. Our author was certainly not Benjamin Franklin, the writer just alluded to, as his correspondence shows him to have been in London at the time the ship sailed from New York in 1769. The sketch is stated to have been composed on board ship, and bears intrinsic evidence of having been so composed.

If a minister of the gospel was the author there would undoubtedly have been numerous references to Christianity in the verses. None such appear save indirectly in the chapter on Richie, in describing her as not

professing in Jesus, the son of Mary, but practising the precepts of his law of doing unto all men as she would they should do unto her.

This and other well-known expressions from New Testament sources could as well have been used by a believer in the Old Testament alone.

The references to the God of Israel and to Davisius as an idolator because he was a painter, are, with other elements, indicative of a Jewish author.

The writer apparently was familiar with the people he described, and accustomed to the use of the pen. Richie or Richa Franks must have impressed him as a lady of fine mind and character. His admiration of her and her family is quite evident.

The devotion of so much space in the Chapters to an otherwise obscure individual like Richa would indicate her to have been a personal friend of the writer.

Was Isaac Pinto (1721-1791), a learned New Yorker, and a signer of the resolutions of 1770 to continue the non-importation agreement of 1765,<sup>4</sup> who made an English translation of the Hebrew Prayers for the Sabbath and Holy Days, which was printed for him by our John Holt, New York, 5526 (1766), the Scribe who in these Chapters portrayed the virtues of Richie? He knew her family well and was a member of the congregation they attended. If a passenger on the ship we can safely answer in the affirmative. The names of the twenty other passengers do not seem to be ascertainable.

To Pinto is attributed the authorship of the anonymous English translation of the Hebrew Form of Services of . . . the Beginning of the Year and the Day of Atonement, printed by W. Weyman, New York, 1761.<sup>5</sup> The English in both these

<sup>4</sup> See *The New York Gazette, or The Weekly Post-Boy*, June 30, 1770, at New York Historical Society. See also "The Jewish Encyclopedia," *sub* Isaac Pinto.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library, in a manuscript note to item No. 23,209 in his copy of Sabin's "Dic-

translations is as well written as in the work we are considering.

To Isaac Pinto also we may attribute the anonymous translation of "The Form of Prayer Which was Performed at the Jews Synagogue, in City of New York, on Thursday, October 23, 1760, Being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Reducing of Canada to his Majesty's Dominions; Composed by D. R. Joseph Yesurun Pinto, in the Hebrew Language and Translated into English, by a Friend to Truth," printed and sold by W. Weyman, New York, 1760; a copy of which is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a description of which appears in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, pp. 121-122.

If, as is probable, Pinto was the translator of this Form of Prayer, his familiarity with matters relating to the expedition against Canada, described in the Chapters, is readily understood.

Himself a scribe, may not that appellation in the Chapters have been given by Pinto, if the author, to the Captain of the ship whose first name was also Isaac, so as the better to conceal his own identity, which he had once before concealed in an anonymous publication, and yet exhibit his authorship to his friends?

This paper will not have been in vain if it shall be the means of leading to the discovery of a copy of the pamphlet which, as a bibliographical rarity, as well as from a literary standpoint, is worthy of a place of honor in our great storehouses of the thoughts of other men.

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tionary," credits Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool with attributing this translation (of which the Doctor is mentioned as having two copies), to Pinto because the translation in it of portions of the liturgies appears almost verbatim in the translation of 5526 (1766) above referred to.



## THE ORIGINAL OF SCOTT'S REBECCA.<sup>1</sup>

BY JOSEPH JACOBS, LITT. D.

History seeks to ascertain the facts of the human past and the laws of causation which connect them. But it has another task, equally necessary, of removing from the records of humanity those alleged facts of the past which fail to pass its crucial scrutiny. Indeed, modern historiography may be said to begin with Niebuhr's investigation of the legends of ancient Rome by methods which have effected a revolution in theology as well as in history. I have been entrusted by the American Jewish Historical Society with the task of testing one of the most attractive legends that has grown up with regard to the history of the Jews in this country: The assertion that Rebecca Gratz, the beautiful and philanthropic Jewess of Philadelphia, was the original of Sir Walter Scott's *Rebecca* in his "Ivanhoe."

You all know the legend. Washington Irving loved Matilda Hoffman, who died of consumption in 1809, before they could marry. For the last six months of her life she was nursed tenderly by Rebecca Gratz, who had been her friend from childhood; and thus Washington Irving came to know her noble qualities in the most impressive way. Going abroad to bury his grief, he visited and became friendly with Sir Walter Scott, then at the height of his fame as the all but acknowledged author of the Waverley Novels. He told the "Wizard of the North" of the fine qualities of the Jewish maiden who had

<sup>1</sup> See *The American Hebrew*, February 14, 1913, pp. 433, 434. I am indebted for much valuable information to Mr. Simon Gratz and the Misses Mordecai, the chief surviving relatives of Rebecca Gratz, as well as to Miss Katherine M. Cohen.



nursed his betrothed on her dying bed; and when Scott soon afterwards wrote his "Ivanhoe" he drew the character of his heroine from the description given of Rebecca Gratz by his American friend.

So runs the legend, and it is needless to dilate upon its interest. Of all Scott's heroines, *Rebecca*, in "Ivanhoe," has perhaps most impressed the popular imagination, while "Ivanhoe" itself was, from the first, and still remains, Scott's most popular novel. I observe that the London School Board, when recently removing the Waverley Novels from the list of prizes to be given to their scholars because boys and girls no longer enjoy them, made an exception in favor of "Ivanhoe." It is true that William Morris, as I remember, often spoke of "Ivanhoe" as the great example of what he used to call "Tushery" because, as he claimed, it entirely misrepresented mediaeval circumstances and feeling. But it has to be remembered that Morris was a rival depicter of the Middle Ages; and we shall still continue reading "Ivanhoe," and most of us refrain from reading "The Dream of John Ball," or "The Glittering Plain." It will, therefore, be of extreme interest if it turns out that the main charm of Scott's most popular novel was derived from an American Jewess, especially as, except for a reference in "Redgauntlet," there is no connection with America in all Scott's voluminous works.

Yet when we refer to the standard authority on Scott's life and literary productions written by his son-in-law, J. G. Lockhart, there is absolutely no reference to Washington Irving's intermediation with regard to the Jewish part of "Ivanhoe." In Lockhart's *Life*,<sup>2</sup> the introduction of the Jewish scenes is stated to be due to the conversation of Scott's friend, James Skene, who had lived in Germany, from 1802 to 1814, and had there observed the Jews, with their special costume, in their ghettos. Lockhart adds, upon the appearance of "Ivanhoe," he reminded Mr. Skene of this conversation and said, "You

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 46, p. 420 (of the one-volume edition).

will find this book owes not a little to your German reminiscences." If we were to seek for an original of *Rebecca*, from this indication of Lockhart, one would have to search among the brilliant Jewesses of his time in Germany—Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, Dorothea Schlegel, and the rest. They had the dignity and the beauty of Rebecca but they did not, like her, reject the hands of their Gentile admirers. Nor was any of these brilliant leaders of salons named *Rebecca*.

But if we are to trust to family tradition there is yet another Rebecca who has been put forward as a claimant to be the original of Scott's *Rebecca*. Mr. George Keene, late president of the Reading Railroad, was a grand-nephew of Rebecca Franks, Lady Johnson, and once said to Miss Mordecai, a grand-niece of Rebecca Gratz, "You claim to be the grand-niece of the original of Scott's *Rebecca*; I claim to be her grand-nephew"; and he thereupon stated that there was a tradition in the Franks family that Rebecca Franks was the true original. She left Philadelphia in 1782, as the wife of Sir Frederick Johnson,<sup>3</sup> and lived, for the rest of her life, up to 1829, at Bath, England, with which town Sir Walter Scott had close connection, since he passed a year of his boyhood within its boundaries. Scott may, therefore, have known her and derived the name and some of the characteristics of his heroine from this brilliant woman, but he could scarcely have seen any repugnance to marrying a Gentile in Lady Johnson.

Why are we to seek an original at all? Cannot we attribute to the imagination of the great painter of men's and women's passions and emotions, a capacity for creating a character that shall live for all time without being copied from a living original? Still we know, from other incidents, that Scott did draw from originals<sup>4</sup>; and however great a poet's imagination

<sup>3</sup> See Max J. Kohler, "Rebecca Franks, an American Jewish Belle of the Last Century," New York, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> See the elaborate work of S. R. Crockett, "The Originals of Scott," London, 1912.

may be he has to draw from his experience or from the experience of others, for at least the elements of his imaginary pictures. And *Rebecca*, in "Ivanhoe," certainly gives us the impression that the character, having lived in reality, lives on in the pages of the novelist. Her beauty and dignity, her fidelity to her race and faith, her love both for her father and for her Christian champion, her powers of nursing and patient bravery, seemed so consistently drawn and blended together as to argue a living original.

Was Rebecca Gratz of Philadelphia that original? That is the problem we have to determine. There is a strong tradition in the Gratz family that she was. Rebecca Gratz herself, when taxed with the soft impeachment, would reply with natural complacency, "They say so, my dear." Miss Mordecai remembers an occasion when two Christian ladies visited the Ladies' Gallery of the Mikve Israel Congregation of Philadelphia, where Rebecca Gratz used to worship. She did the honors of the place with her usual dignified courtesy, lending them her prayer-book and pointing out the passages in the service. After it was concluded, one of the ladies asked Miss Gratz to point out the lady who was supposed to be the original of Scott's *Rebecca*. She replied, "I am the person to whom you refer."

But family tradition counts for little in the authentication of such a legend. As we have seen in the case of Lady Johnson, the mere presence of a girl named Rebecca in a Jewish family would be sufficient to give rise to the identification myth, as our German friends would call it. But there is much more in favor of the legend in the case of Rebecca Gratz. The relations of the Irving, the Hoffman, and the Gratz families, were as close as the story implies. There was a room in the Gratz home in Philadelphia known as "Washington's room." This was not one of the one thousand chambers in which George Washington is reported to have rested his weary limbs during the War of the Revolution. It was so called because it was always

at the disposal of Washington Irving when he visited the Gratz family. He must therefore have known Rebecca well enough to describe her remarkable character to his illustrious friends. He had also had experience of her tenderness as a nurse, one of the striking traits in the character of Rebecca of York.

There is also some reason for believing that there was in Rebecca Gratz's life a love incident with a Gentile, which parallels that of *Rebecca* with *Ivanhoe*, in Scott's novel. At the beginning of the last century she became acquainted with Mr. Samuel Ewing, son of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, a barrister of some prominence who also dabbled in literature. He was a brilliant conversationalist, of genial manners, with an ever ready flow of wit. Now, there is a strong tradition in the Ewing family that Rebecca Gratz and Samuel Ewing were in love with each other and were only prevented from marrying by the difference in creed. Mr. Ewing's granddaughter, I am informed by Miss Katharine Cohen, goes so far as to state that upon his death in 1825, at the age of 49, Rebecca Gratz, with the consent of Mrs. Ewing,—who would be the Rowena of this version of the story,—placed in the coffin three rose-buds and her own portrait. I am assured by Miss Mordecai that such a piece of sentimentality was quite alien to the rather cold and dignified character of Rebecca Gratz. But the existence of such a romantic tradition proves, at least, that the Ewing family thought that there was a strong bond of affection between the two parties concerned. This is, to some extent, corroborated by an unpublished letter which I have been privileged to see, of Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Hoffman, step-mother of Matilda Hoffman, Washington's betrothed. In this letter, dated May, 1802, Rebecca Gratz rather coyly denies the existence of any special relation between herself and "Mr. E," as she calls Samuel Ewing, but this very denial serves rather to confirm the tradition.

The name, character, the nursing and love incidents are identical in the two *Rebeccas*. Nor is there anything in the

chronology of the case antagonistic to the tradition. Washington Irving went to Europe in 1815, and got to know Scott in 1817, describing his visit to Abbotsford in a well-known essay. "Ivanhoe" appeared in 1819, so that it was written when the conversations of Irving would be fresh in Scott's tenacious memory. There was even said to be a letter of Scott's written by him at the time of the publication of "Ivanhoe," to Washington Irving, in which Scott wrote, "How does your *Rebecca* compare with mine?"

This would indeed clinch the matter if such a letter could be produced. It was stated to be in existence by Mr. Gratz Van Rensselaer in his article on the original of Scott's *Rebecca*, in the *Century Magazine*,<sup>5</sup> which is the source from which all recent writers have drawn. But I have failed to find any evidence of such a letter, and indeed the *a priori* probabilities are strong against it. Nothing is more striking in Scott's career than the persistence with which he denied his authorship of the Waverley Novels up to 1825, when the financial crisis of that year forced him to acknowledge his parentage. Except to Ballantyne and Constable, his printer and his publisher, and a few very intimate friends, he consistently refused to acknowledge the authorship, even going so far as to deny it when directly taxed with it on the ground that it was a private concern of his own and a necessary precaution to preserve his anonymity. It is therefore extremely unlikely, indeed practically impossible, that he would have directly acknowledged his authorship of "Ivanhoe" over his own signature. Indeed, it would have been bad business since the halo of the Great Unknown was partly the cause of the great popularity of the novels. I think, however, I have traced the source of Mr. Van Rensselaer's statement. In an article by Major Mordecai on *Rebecca* Gratz, the original of Scott's "Rebecca," in the *Jewish Record*<sup>6</sup> he states that Scott "wrote or sent a message" to

<sup>5</sup> September, 1880.

<sup>6</sup> Philadelphia, April 6, 1877.



Irving, giving the words quoted by Mr. Van Rensselaer in his article. The latter gentleman left out "or sent a message," and thus gave rise to the impression that a letter was in existence acknowledging, in Scott's own words, his indebtedness to Irving for the original of *Rebecca*.<sup>7</sup>

You have now before you all the facts which my utmost diligence has been able to collect on the question whether Rebecca Gratz was the original of Scott's *Rebecca* in "Ivanhoe." I think you will agree that the facts thus brought together are a strong confirmation of that tradition. The identity of name, of traits of character and of incidents in the careers of the two Rebeccas, is so strikingly close that it would be against the canons of probability that there was no connection between them. We have an appropriate channel of communication in the relations of Washington Irving with Sir Walter Scott just at the time that he was writing his "Ivanhoe," and there seems to be nothing in the circumstances of the case which traverse the strong tradition in the Gratz family as to the connection of Rebecca of Philadelphia with *Rebecca* of York.

You have probably been agreeably disappointed with the analysis that historical science, so far as I have been able to represent it, has made of the well-known tradition that Rebecca Gratz was the original of Scott's *Rebecca*, in "Ivanhoe." But it is your own fault if you have assumed that historical science must always prove that traditions are false. It is, on the contrary, the first scientific hypothesis that any tradition has a basis of fact. Most of us find a difficulty in telling a consistent lie entirely devoid of foundation and fact; and the same applies to those splendid mendacities which we entitle myths or

<sup>7</sup> The identity of Rebecca Gratz with *Rebecca* of "Ivanhoe" was taken for granted by S. R. Crockett in his "Originals of Scott," *supra*, who followed the *Century* paper and gave an excellent portrait of Rebecca Gratz and a photograph of her grave in Philadelphia.

legends. Very often the amount of fact in a legend is but slight and has a different bearing to what the legend would imply. We have seen, in the present inquiry, that even when the central incidents of a tradition are based on real occurrences there is a tendency in the human mind to embellish them with stories of rosebuds or impossible letters. But careful inquiry has enabled us to sweep away these unnecessary embellishments and to confirm, in its main outline, the long cherished tradition that Rebecca Gratz, one of the noblest specimens of the Jewish woman that this Continent has displayed, was the original of Scott's most popular and attractive heroine.

## SOME PHASES OF THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY RABBI ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN, A. M., D. H. L.

It is obviously impracticable to compress so broad a subject as the social condition of the Jews in Spain within the limits allotted to me. Now, instead of drawing the broad outlines of the entire subject, I prefer to follow another method. I have chosen a few interesting data from the different aspects of the life of the people, and hope to present in this way what the title announces "Some phases of the condition of the Jews in Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" with particular emphasis on the nature of the position of the Jews in the scheme of mediaeval government.

The sources upon which I have drawn mainly are the *שו"ת*, or the responsa, of the Rabbis Solomon *b.* Abraham *b.* Adret (1240-1310), Asher *b.* Jehiel (died 1321 or 1328) and Judah, the latter's son (1270-1349). In all, they comprise 4500 legal decisions which these Rabbis handed down in answer to questions directed to them, and cover a period of eighty years—roughly speaking, the period between 1270 and 1350 C. E. Only five questions of the 3376 responsa of *R.* Solomon are definitely dated; about 800 of the responsa mention the names of the cities or countries to which they were directed, and sometimes they even name the respective correspondents. Sixty-eight communities are thus specified by name, and also about sixty correspondents. These communities represent the three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the correspondents include obscure as well as the most illustrious rabbis of the time.

The literature of the responsa is a production of post-Talmudic times. On the whole, it constitutes a distinct type of rabbinic composition, including in theme both the commentary and the code. All phases of Jewish life and Jewish thought are reflected in this literature. Thus, in the responsa which we have chosen for examination—which are typical of the entire literature—cases of civil, ecclesiastical and criminal law, questions ritual, ceremonial, liturgical, theological, exegetical, homiletical, astrological, philosophical, and purely casuistic—all follow one upon another without transition or logical division. Problems of daily life are described in the most realistic manner. Customs of the community and ceremonies of the home, social manners and personal dress, the woes and joys of the communities, the moral and physical struggles of a people that feels itself in exile—all are depicted in faithful, living colors.

As an historic source, the responsa are in the highest degree reliable. They are essentially court-records. In origin, they were not designed as historic material at all. The interest of the compiler being purely halachic, the published responsa are faithful reproductions of the actual court proceedings. But the responsa are especially valuable as a source for the reconstruction of internal Jewish history. They present the Jewish aspect of Jewish history, if we may so term it; that is to say, not only do the responsa reproduce for us the conditions under which the Jews lived in those times, but they also tell us how the Jews themselves regarded their condition, what they spoke about among themselves, and expressed regarding their life among the nations.

An illustration of this statement brings us to the main topic of our discourse. Thus it should be extremely interesting for the Jewish historian to determine the mediaeval Jew's own conception of his status among the nations. How did he, for instance, regard his relation to the king? Did the Jews of Castile and Leon regard Alfonso X as their sovereign and king

in the same sense as he was regarded by the Spanish people, and were they his subjects together with the rest of the Spanish population? Or to put the matter more bluntly: It is surely of the highest importance for a true estimation of Jewish history to understand whether to the Jews, the king's authority had a moral, religious sanction, and, if so, to act contrary to royal decree would constitute a sin; or, whether to the Jews obedience to royal authority was a matter of physical compulsion, and, if that be the case, they should have had no moral scruples to evade the law where this could be done with impunity. And as to the Spanish nation, what attitude did the Jews take toward the national assemblies and the common law? These questions touch the very bases of mediaeval Jewish history, and can be determined only by an examination of the Hebrew sources—and, principally, the responsa literature.

A question is referred to Ibn Adret for decision which reads to this effect.<sup>1</sup> There was a certain town—not mentioned by name—which had a special Jewish quarter where the Jews resided. This section of the city was fenced off from the Gentile quarter by high walls and gates which might be shut and barred at the will of the Jewish authorities. There was one alley, however, which extended from the Jewish quarter to the Gentile section. And the Jewish authorities obtained a royal permit, allowing them to build a gate across the middle of the alley, which was designed thus to form an extension to the series of barriers that divided the Jewish from the non-Jewish part of the city. Then, at a public meeting of the Jewish community, a measure was passed authorizing the communal authorities to proceed with the work of building the desired fence. As the work was about to begin, some of the residents of that part of the alley and the city who would be excluded from the Jewish section proper by the gate to be built across the middle of the alley, protested that such a measure

<sup>1</sup> "Responsa of Ibn Adret," vol. ii, No. 134; cf. vol. i, No. 637.



would be illegal, that is, contrary to Jewish law. For, it would unlawfully deprive them of the advantages they now enjoyed of being able to pass unhampered from their houses to the Jewish section proper. As the legal issues were complicated, the matter was referred to Ibn Adret.

His decision is highly illuminating, and touches directly the fundamental questions of political conception which we have raised. On purely legal grounds, he sustained the objection against the communal enactment. It is a well-established principle in Talmudic law that the passage in an alley is the common possession of all the residents whose houses open into it, and no change that would work hardship against anyone of the residents can be made therein without the common consent of all.

In this particular case, however, the matter was complicated by the royal sanction of the communal enactment. For the local Jewish authorities had received a permit from the king allowing them to build the desired obstruction in the center of the alley, and the question consequently arose, to what extent had the king the legal right to interfere with the rights and privileges of the individual? Had this matter come up in Palestine, says Ibn Adret, under a Jewish king, the courts would have annulled the royal decree on the ground that it was illegal, or, as we should say, unconstitutional. For, according to the Jewish conception the Jewish king is only an executive whose duty it is not to make or create the law but to enforce it, the law being divinely given in Israel. Nor can the king dispose of the land in any manner pleasing to him, as the land of Palestine was bequeathed as an inheritance to all Israel, to the private, humble Jew as well as to the royal dignitary. Consequently, the protest against the violation of private rights would be sustained by the Jewish courts even against the royal authority. The nature of kingship among the Gentile nations, however, is different, and especially in their relation to the Jews. With them, the high roads, streets, and

open places are regarded as royal possessions. At the arbitrary will of royalty, streets are frequently closed up, and obstructions built on the central high-ways. Hence, now that these kings of the Gentile nations have dominion over Jewry, their will in these matters of building constitutes law, and the Jews must lawfully respect their wishes. The building of the gate in the center of the alley may therefore be proceeded with.

What an interesting outlook of a mediaeval rabbi upon political philosophy is thus presented to us! The mediaeval Christian conception of absolute kingship is not of the Jews' making; but it is these kings that have dominion over the Jews, and the latter must submit. The Gentile kings are not the kings of their choice—they are not their kings in the same sense that they are the kings of their respective nations. They have dominion over the Jew; this means that they stand in the relation of conquerors to the Jewish people, and have the right to dictate the terms upon which the Jews may live in their countries. Hence, the paradoxical situation that arose through a development in Jewish theory, in that the royal decree of a Gentile king was considered lawful and binding, whereas a similar decree of a Jewish king in a Jewish state would have been null and void.

Nevertheless, it must not be imagined that the Jews considered the will of the king unqualifiedly binding. For the king's demands were frequently so unjust and outrageous that the rabbis soon came to modify the general principle of royal law. Thus Ibn Adret states very boldly <sup>2</sup> דינא דמלכותא דינא. גולנותא דמלכותא לאו דינא. "We recognize the fair demands of the king as law: but robbery is not a rightful prerogative of royalty." Many cases of arbitrary, unlawful confiscations appear in the responsa where this distinction had to be drawn by the rabbis to protect the victims of royal greed.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v, No. 4; cf. Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, *ibid.*, vol. i, No. 1105; cf. also responsa of R. Asher b. Jehiel, 86, ix.

How the legal decisions of a rabbi would interfere with the purpose of the king is thus brought out.<sup>3</sup> A Jew of considerable wealth who felt that he was about to die, and wished to protect his heirs from being cheated out of their inheritance by the king, deposited his money secretly with a Jewish friend of his. The king, unable to find out who had been delegated by the deceased to be trustee of his fortune, hit upon the ingenious idea of ordering the Jewish communal authorities to pronounce in the synagogue a general ban of excommunication against anyone whosoever should hold in his possession the fortune that the king was so eager to obtain. The authorities, not daring openly to oppose the king, comply with his request. But the particular person concerned secretly consulted the rabbi, who explained to him that the ban was entirely illegal, and encouraged him not to betray his trust, applying to him the Biblical verse "Mine eyes are upon the faithful in the land."<sup>4</sup> This is only one of innumerable instances where the Jewish law proved itself a wall of strength and protection to the Jew, behind which he stood covered and able to ward off the attacks aimed at him from without.

It was, however, a matter fraught with the greatest danger to oppose the king in his acts of confiscation. Thus, Ibn Adret writes:

I do not wish to interfere in the laws governing the property of those who were executed by order of the Gentile king as to whether their possessions lapse to the king or not.<sup>5</sup>

Or again:

But these words (concerning confiscation and false charges) are not to be transmitted except to Him, before whom all thoughts are revealed, blessed be He. He who guardeth his life should keep aloof from them.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vii, No. 454.

<sup>4</sup> *Psalms*, ci, 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, No. 1159.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, No. 612.

While Jewish law thus admitted the legality of a royal decree, which might be construed as reasonable, no concession whatever was made to the common law of the nations among whom the Jews lived. The distinction is sharply drawn:<sup>7</sup> *דינא דמלכותא דינא, דינא דאומתא לאו דינא לנו*. We recognize the king's law, but the legislation of the nations, or the interpretations of the general courts do not constitute law for us. For the law belonged to the king, not to the nation; and on whatever agreement the Jews lived in the land, the parties to the implied contract were the Jews on the one hand, and the king on the other.<sup>8</sup> The nation itself was a third party, not included in the transaction. Hence the Jews were under no legal obligations to respect the will of the people among whom they lived. And the rabbis strenuously opposed any concession whatever to the common law. Under no conditions were Jews permitted to submit their legislation to the standards of the common law in the general courts, even in cases where the general law agreed with Jewish law.

God forbid that the holy people should walk in the ways of the Gentiles and according to their statutes.<sup>9</sup>

With deep emotion, Ibn Adret exclaims:

Of what use would the most holy writings composed by R. Judah and then by Rabina and Rab Ashi after him be to us? Do they wish to teach their children the laws of the Gentiles and build themselves altars of the uncleanness of the heathen! Far be it! It shall never be thus in Israel! God forbid! Shall the Torah gird itself in sackcloth?<sup>10</sup>

The last consideration lays bare the heart of the Jewish situation in the Middle Ages. In no sense were the Jews part of the general Spanish population. They might mingle with their

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vi, No. 149.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vi, No. 254.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. v, 171; vi, 4, Zikron Judah, No. 81.

neighbors and partake of their culture. They might engage in commerce with and for them.<sup>11</sup> They might serve the king as ministers and ambassadors.<sup>12</sup> They might even represent as lawyers the Gentiles in the general non-Jewish courts.<sup>13</sup> All these cases appear in the responsa. But the king was a Spanish king, the courts were Spanish courts, the institutions, the government, the whole scheme of society, all were distinctly Spanish, the creations of the Spanish people, with whom the Jews considered themselves in no way related. The Jews could learn the language, but they could not adopt the country. They could assimilate the culture, but not the people. Consequently, they were strangers in the land. And though they might have traced their descent to ancestors who had lived in the Pyrennean peninsula centuries before the remotest ancestors of the royal house itself,<sup>14</sup> yet they were in a real sense foreigners in the country, inasmuch as they never became an integral part of its political structure.

And, indeed, how could the situation have been otherwise? If one bears in mind that Church and State were inextricably intertwined during the Middle Ages, that the modern conception of a State, wide enough to include all races, nationalities and creeds, had not yet dawned upon the minds of men, that the very idea of citizenship in the degree of flexibility it possesses to-day was not part of the intellectual heritage of the day, then one sees how inevitably the Jews had to remain outside the entire system of government. The Jews could as little fill a place in the government proper as in the church system itself.

The real situation of the Jews baldly stated was that of a mass of people, found in the country together with its other natural resources, belonging to the king as sovereign of the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 232; vol. i, Nos. 715-716.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, No. 1159; vol. v, No. 270; vol. vi, No. 224.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 287; cf. vol. iii, responsum 141.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Lindo, "History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal," Ch. I.



land, and who, if protected in some measure, might indeed yield the king a very useful and considerable revenue. This is brought out strikingly in the second part of the first responsum we quoted in connection with the building of a gate to separate the Jewish from the non-Jewish part of the city. There Ibn Adret proceeded to defend the legitimacy of the king's authorization, on the ground that the building of the gate was designed to protect the Jews from harm to which they might otherwise be exposed, and which might result in "*damage to the king.*"<sup>15</sup> Consequently, the Jews formed a class by themselves whose very *raison d'être*, as far as the country was concerned, lay in their relationship to the king. It was he who determined their status, and upon his good-will and self-interest depended their existence.

As a mass of human beings, they had to live under some form of government. What a cumbersome and useless task it would have been for a mediaeval ruler to undertake the problem of devising a special form of administration for this people of strange manners and stranger habits of mind. Fortunately for the king, however, these Jews who fell to his heritage were in possession of venerable traditions, a highly elaborated system of law, with schemes of communal organization well able to take care of them, if not interfered with. A happy solution would therefore at once suggest itself, namely: the ends of both the king and the Jews would be most happily served by a system in which the Jews would have autonomy, regulating and ordering their life within the community according to their own traditions and principles of law, and the king would be able to exact his demands with the least friction from a responsible body representing the entire community.

Needless to say, these were the lines along which Jewish government in the Middle Ages worked itself out in practice as well as in theory. The Jews of each town or village con-

<sup>15</sup> "Responso of Ibn Adret," vol. ii, No. 134.

stituted a group known as the *Kahal*, or Congregation, membership in which was compulsory for every Jew in the town.<sup>16</sup> They had their own form of organization, which in the larger cities particularly presented a highly elaborated, specialized form of government, including a legislative body, judicial authorities, and executive officials.<sup>17</sup> The *Kahal* was officially recognized by the king as possessing full authority to order and regulate the life of the Jews in its various aspects, political, social, and religious, and its powers extended over civil, criminal and ecclesiastical law.<sup>18</sup> Now, the responsa that have come down to us, being the records of what may be called the higher Jewish courts, reveal to us the whole range of the workings of these mediaeval Jewish institutions in all their amplitude. The structural organization of these local Jewish governments and their controlling influence on the life of the people constitute, to my mind, one of the central problems of mediaeval Jewish history.

In conclusion, by way of general characterization, I wish to say that a wide latitude of power and initiative was delegated by the community to its officials. The system of government was neither fixed nor stereotyped. Freedom was given the authorities to meet any emergency of the moment. Indeed, the general impression that one receives from a study of the responsa is that of a hurriedly constructed organization with parts loosely articulated, and depending for its vitality on the critical situation which called it forth, and the strong feeling of solidarity among the rank and file of the Jewish body. It was essentially the organization of a people that must always face potential danger.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, No. 841, belonging to a group of responsa of R. Meir of Rothenburg.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, No. 394.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 290; vol. v, No. 194 *et seq.*

## THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JEWS WITH PRESIDENT MARTIN VAN BUREN.

CONTRIBUTED BY ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

In 1910 the Library of Congress issued a "Calendar of the Van Buren Papers," relating to the important, unpublished MS. material of the President and possessing considerable historical interest. Dr. Cyrus Adler called my attention to this publication, and rendered me much assistance in securing the letters herewith published for the first time.

The correspondence of Jews with the various heads of our nation is a useful and valuable source of information for the historian. That had with Washington and with Jefferson has heretofore been made known to the public. Now the Van Buren correspondence is similarly treated, the originals of the annexed documents being in the possession of the Library of Congress, at Washington. In each instance a reference to the appropriate entry in the *Calendar* has been added.<sup>1</sup>

VAN BUREN AND MORDECAI M. NOAH.

I.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 3, p. 84. 1815-1820.]

A. L. S.

*Noah to Van Buren.*

NEW YORK July 13 1819

My Dear Sir,

I have not had a moment to spare, since the Council has terminated their late disgraceful proceedings or I should have dropped you a line not in the way of condolence but rather of congratulation as your removal from office will have done much good to our cause and I am fully persuaded that it can do you no harm as the republican party will ever take pleasure in affording that protection & confidence to men of principle which they loudly claim. I calculate upon the best effects from the late proceedings of the

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<sup>1</sup> In *Publications*, No. 8, p. 141 *et seq.*, and *ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 126, 127, will be found copies of the letters addressed to President Van Buren in connection with the various American protest meetings under Jewish auspices against the Damascus persecution of 1840.

Council the grea[t] republican party cannot in accordance to their [princip]les countenance that unholy alliance which is now proclaimed between M<sup>r</sup> Clinton & his *Swiss allies* <sup>2</sup> Yet we must be active persevering & dreadfully energetic. M<sup>r</sup> C depends upon federal support we must openly & u[n]reservedly rely upon republicans every proselyte that he makes from federal ranks will be acquired by the loss of two republicans yet as things have taken such a course it is manifestly our interest to strive by every honorable means & by considerations of policy to get the [nex]t [?] Council from him not that the offices will strengthen our power but it will weaken his & the staff must be wrested from his hands at any sacrifice short of credit & honor The federalists in this City want their Mayer Recorder & a few others to be preserved which if it could be done they would go heart & hand with us

It has been suggested that it would be politic to nominate our Governor before the Council is chosen as it would fix many votes—You will when together be the best judge of this

I need not assure you that we depend [m]uch on you and your exertions will [gi]ve you a lasting claim on the gratit[ude] of the party. for myself labouring as I have with so much zeal & activity I fondly anticipate success not that I have personal objects in view but I wish to see the cause for which I have laboured zealously—triumphant at last. I shall therefore be much obliged if from time to time you will favour me with your counsel & advise & such suggestions as you may make confidentially to me shall receive particular attention I wish to know what is going on & [what] may be decided upon that I may govern my movements accordingly as any course which our paper may pursue will necessarily have weight—If in addition I can be of any service to you you have only to let me know it & be certain of my most cheerful & active compliance

With much esteem  
& respect

I am Dear Sir

very truly & sincerely yours

M M Noa[H]

I think a short trip to the westward the ensuing fall would do our cause no harm if I could leave the paper with propriety <sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In his "Memoirs," vol. v, p. 173, John Quincy Adams refers to Noah as an "anti-Clintonian Tammany" adherent. In these days he edited the *National Advocate*.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar*, p. 34.

II.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 3, p. 120. 1815-1820.]

A. L. S.

*Van Buren to Noah.*

HUDSON Dec<sup>r</sup> 17 1819

D Sir/

Your letter has reached me here in the midst of a circuit and I have but time to say a word to you on the interesting points you speak of—advise Thompson by no means to have such a meeting, it would as you say set an example for M<sup>r</sup> Clinton for which he would give the world—the dire necessity to which he will be subjected of resorting to such nominations galls him to the quick—such a measure would therefore be intolerable in us & I am astonished that any discreet man should dream of it—*make yourself perfectly easy on the subject of the nomination*—if such designs as you speak of exist they are perfectly harmless—there is the most unprecedented unanimity on the subject among Republicans—Tompkins will be the man unless he himself declines—let the few individuals who entertain different views talk on, but dont notice them in your paper—they will soon be lost in the general mass—I should sorely regret to find any flagging on the subject of M<sup>r</sup> King in N York—we are committed to his support—it is both wise & honest & we must have no fluttering in our course—the Republicans of the State expect it & are ready for it—I know that such is the case—there was not in the Senate a dissenting voice that I could find—M<sup>r</sup> Kings views towards us are honorable & correct—the Missouri question conceals so far as he is concerned no plott & he shall give it a true direction—you know what the feelings & views of our friends were when I left N York & you know what we then concluded to do—*my Considerations* &c & the aspect of the Argus [?] will shew you that we have entered on the work in earnest—we cannot therefore look back—our firm consistent & manly course has revived our party in the estimation of all & its contrast with that of our opponents has cast much contempt on theirs—let us not therefore have any halting but come out I beseech [you] manfully on the subject & I will put my head on its propriety—

I have been much embarrassed by my agency in the affair with M<sup>r</sup> Buel by an evident apprehension on his part that I want to get rid of him—when I see you in Albany which will now be soon I will explain to you—Of my anxious disposition to serve [you?]



I know you will not doubt [My news?] from every part of the State are most flattering

In haste your  
friend &c  
M V BUREN <sup>4</sup>

III.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 3, p. 122. 1815-1820.]

A. L. S.

*Noah to Van Buren.*

Private

Dear Sir

Your favour from Hudson reached me this morning. You confirm me in the belief that it would be inexpedient to get up meetings to nominate Tompkins & I shall represent it so to our friends I reced a letter from Ontario informing me that on the 24<sup>th</sup> a Convention or meeting would be held in Canandaigua which would speak of Tompkins as the Candidate—You may be in time to prevent it—when things go on well there is no necessity to make hazardous experiments—

Your Pamphlet on the election of King I received in season and have perused it attentively—all is said that could with propriety be said on the subject & enough to overcome the scruples of the most fastidious; *but*; you know the temper & feeling of our members w[ho] carry with them our old tried friends in many instances—I had prepared carefully an article on the subject mild yet conclusive but I was assail'd on all sides not to notice the subject or discuss the propriety of M<sup>r</sup> Kings election in the Advocate That he will be elected they seem to admit—that they intend voting against him I cannot doubt unless on their arrival at Albany they shall be induced by the apparent unanimity to change their sentiments—they do not appear to be disposed to use their influence to oppose the election of M<sup>r</sup> King they seem to think it adviseable to act without concert leaving to each individual the responsibility of acting as he pleases—they fear the charge of inconsistency & coalition & what may grow out of this step in the state & throughout the Union they all unite in advising me not to advocate in an open & direct manner the choice of M<sup>r</sup> King although it will be necessary to defend & even applaud the measure if adopted—I am in a dilemma—if the state is to be saddled with Clinton for another term in case King is not elected there can be no hesitation how to act However I shall be up immediately after New Year & personally I may do much among the

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<sup>4</sup> *Calendar*, p. 36.

members on this point—an unnecessary alarm seems to exist as an act to choose a Senator must be passed how would it answer to order an election by *Ballot* instead of *Viva voce* I see in this step many difficulties removed King would receive many more votes I imagine—

I am sorry that your exertions with Buel should have given rise to any unfavourable sentiments My friends here assure that he has no intention either to sell his paper at a fair price or relinquish the State Printing while the Legislature will continue to enrich him with their patronage. Were he as poor as I am he would merit a continuance but his good condition & circumstances will rather operate against him—it is his interest to sell—if not to me there are others preparing for application

I am Dear Sir

Very sincerely yrs

M M NOAH

N York Dec<sup>r</sup> 19 1819<sup>e</sup>

IV.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 4, p. 14. 1820-22.]

A. L. S.

*Noah to Van Buren.*

My dear Sir,

I have persuaded M<sup>r</sup> Phillips<sup>e</sup> to send his second son<sup>r</sup> to Canandaigua with materials for a new paper—He is 21 years of age & has been reading law in Philadelphia & with assistance will do well—a paper must be established there—He will leave this in a week I shall give him a few lines to you & our friends in Albany & you must give him a few hints about that quarter & whats to be done

I have just parted with your friend Van Ness who informs me that he will be at his post the ensuing Session—I had to tell him bluntly that if Van Buren got his nomination for the Senate he promoted it essentially; he believes to the contrary & thinks himself strong enough to prevent it. So you must prepare to meet this combatant—

I hope the black & dishonorable course of violating the pledge of a Caucuss will not be repeated I am ashamed of what has been done in Clarks affair & shall not be able to pass over a similar offence in silence—Talk seriously to *some* of our members on this subject.

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<sup>e</sup> *Calendar*, p. 36.

<sup>e</sup> Naphtali, 1773-1870.

<sup>r</sup> Joshua; see "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. x, p. 3.

A strong feeling exists in this City against permitting our Delegation to exercise a controlling influence in appointments to office. It is a right which belongs to their constituents & will not be surrendered. Besides the principle is dangerous & radically wrong—They are entitled to equal influence with Citizens of equal standing in the party & no more. I do not say this from personal considerations—No one has said any thing against me but W<sup>m</sup> Davis & he has his cue from Mat & the Burrites—and they will use every effort to dissappoint & vex me in any views which my friends may have had in relation to myself—Davis however is regulated by Crawford—He has frankly told me that all his opposition shall be used in case Crawford is not supported. I learned that Jenkins will be a candidate for Sheriff although he shewed me his memorial for the Registers office—this is unhandsome Board is pushing hard—Targee informs me that a memorial in my favour is signed by himself, Thompson, Bingham Bailey Tooker Pierson—Allen Broome, & many rich merchants & old republicans. All I ask of my friends in the Council is to be candid & if they unite on any other person to let me know it in time that I may save my feelings by declining to be a candidate—I am not in a situation to be ridiculed by my opponents—neither did I expect opposition from republicans after all my sacrifices—

I shall be up early to report the [pr]oceedings of the assembly. Something [mus]t be done on the Canal subject if Clinton & his friends are kept in as commiss<sup>rs</sup> believe me we shall never get rid of him

I am always

very truly & Sincerely ys

M M NOAH

N York 29 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1820 <sup>s</sup>

V.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 4, p. 83. 1820-22.]

A. N. S.

*Noah to Van Buren.*

[In pencil: 1821?

Feb. 15 or 22?]

182?

My Dear Sir

I called to pay my respects this morning as I leave town this day but you were not at home. I beg you to believe that I am sensibly obliged by your friendly attentions & shall take an

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<sup>s</sup> *Calendar*, p. 45. Noah was a candidate for the shrievalty of New York.

opportunity of expressing the same more fully—I should feel regret at the hostility evinced by part of the delegation towards me if I thought that my political & personal conduct authorised it—not thinking so I attach no consequence to their opinions on the subject of office & shall do my duty faithfully

Present my respectful acknowledgements if you please to M<sup>r</sup> Bowne M<sup>r</sup> Skinner M<sup>r</sup> Evans & M<sup>r</sup> Moore should you see them, & say that I trust they will have no cause to regret the app<sup>t</sup> & that my best exertions shall not be wanting to do credit to their choice

I am Dear Sir

most truly yours

M M NOAH

Albany Wednesday <sup>9</sup>

*Indorsed:* M. M. Noah He has been app[nt]d  
Sheriff but I have  
no recollection of  
having taken a part  
in promoting it <sup>10</sup>

VI.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 4, p. 118. 1820-22.]

A. L. S. *Ulshoeffer to Van Buren.*

ALBANY, 13 Jan<sup>y</sup>, 1822.<sup>11</sup>

. . . . Noah, of the advocate, appears determined to wage war—His attack on the Speaker is base and contemptible, and will only injure himself— . . . <sup>12</sup>

VII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 4, p. 122. 1820-22.]

A. L. S. *Ulshoeffer to Van Buren.*

ALBY, 27 Jan<sup>y</sup>, 1822,<sup>13</sup>

. . . . You will have seen M. M. Noah's course respecting our proceedings here, Is this man mad? You know that he came near telling your Convention that he *prorogued* them, and he now wishes to dictate the whole policy of our party—No good will end his carreer. . . .

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<sup>9</sup> *Calendar*, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> This in pencil.

<sup>11</sup> *Calendar*, p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> An Ulshoeffer is mentioned in *Publications*, No. 11, pp. 132, 133, by G. Herbert Cone.

<sup>13</sup> *Calendar*, p. 51.

## VIII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 5, p. 16. 1822-24.]

A. L. S.

*Noah to Van Buren.*

Dear Sir

M<sup>r</sup> Ingraham begs me to write to you on the subject of an appraiser in the place of M<sup>r</sup> Prall for which he is an applicant—I learn that Walter Merton [?] is also applying I know not who else—M<sup>r</sup> Shaler who is a friend of yours is assisting Ingraham—

We are in a tolerable confusion & have the prospect of a Grand Split in the fall—Our *little* men *will* play the part of the leaders come what come may—

They complain that you take no part about settling the question of Governor they would complain if you did So there is a difficulty in pleasing them—

The General Committee pushed on by Sharpe are cutting out new troubles for us—We shall soon hear the result

very truly yours

M M NOAH

New York March 12 1822<sup>14</sup>

M<sup>r</sup> Van Buren

## IX.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 5, p. 29. 1822-24.]

A. L. S.

*Rufus King to Van Buren.*

JAMAICA [L. I.,] 24 Sep<sup>t</sup> 1822<sup>15</sup>

. . . . The Editor of the Washington Republican sends me his Paper, so that I have seen the Articles, which your imputed Friendship for Noah procures you but they are so insignificant and so general, that they cannot be worth your attention. did they contain a charge that affects your Reputation, I should certainly remember it; but I recollect nothing, except the Editor's opinion that Noah is under your influence, and being in favor of Crawford, that you also must be of this. Sect— . . . .

## X.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 5, p. 31. 1822-24.]

A. L. S.

*Rufus King to Van Buren.*

JAMAICA L. I. 3 Nov. 1822

. . . . Noah I conjecture will fail, unless the Reluctance to vote ag<sup>t</sup> the regular nominations save him. Verplanck having espoused

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<sup>14</sup> *Calendar*, p. 53. Van Buren then was United States Senator from New York.

<sup>15</sup> *Calendar*, p. 54.



the interest of Noah, I have heard that the party of Wendover, have obtained the control of *the Centinel* for a Week—and that this Paper is to be subservient to the Opponents of Noah during this Election. As there has been a good deal of talk of the necessity of setting up a new Paper, it is quite possible that the Centinel may be employed in the Service heretofore performed by Noah—

if Wendover should succeed, this new Establishment will be more probable—the Party of Sharpe, Ulshoeffer, Romaine & Stag (that is, Noah's opponents) will in this Election support, or rather will not oppose, the regular nominations except in the case of Noah—

Coleman, discourages any attempt to set up a third Candidate; in this he wisely gratifies his Hostility to Noah; since between Wendover & Noah, those who might prefer a candidate opposed to both, will, should no such Candidate offer, be likely to vote for Wendover—but enough on this Subject— . . .

with great truth & Esteem

I am my D<sup>r</sup> Sir

yr affectionate humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

RUFUS KING<sup>16</sup>

XI.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 6, p. 92. 1824-26.]

A. L. S.

*Hoyt to Van Buren.*

June 11. 1826

NEW YORK<sup>17</sup>

Dear Sir

Major Noah was one of the party of pleasure in the Steam Boat the other day, got up for Madam Clinton. He tells me had a long political Confab with the Gov. & among other men & things he introduced your name, & discoursed upon the importance of your re-election, & M Clinton replied that you was a better member than Spencer would be,—that you had had the reputation of a noisy bustling politician—but your speeches on the Panama question & the Judiciary shew you had bottom—

This the Major desired I should tell you which I should have done without such request, for in such a juncture as this, it is well for you to know even little matters like the one detailed, The motives of men and the Considerations that influence them, are to be gathered sometimes “from small beginnings” There is nothing new since you left. Campbell thinks of J L L[ewis?] as

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<sup>16</sup> *Calendar*, p. 55. William Coleman was the editor of *The Evening Post*.

<sup>17</sup> *Calendar*, p. 76.

we do but still is of opinion that M Sanford [?] only wants the offer of a nomination, and would not accept if it were put to him, Had you not better come down to be here the 4 July You did not see all your friends when here, & several have expressed a desire to see you & talk on the subject of politics, who for a few years past have not claimed that privilege, Wheaton among the rest John [Van Buren] went on yesterday afternoon

Yours very truly

J HOYT<sup>18</sup>

## XII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 7, p. 46. 1827-28.]

A. L. S.

*Van Buren to Cambreleng.*

. . . . Beseech our friend the Major Noah to let the Morgan affair<sup>19</sup> alone. I am sick, heart sick at his reckless indiscretion upon that subject. It is passing strange that a man so capable can commit so great a blunder as unnecessarily & unwisely to run in the face of so irresistible a current of public feeling as exists upon this subject in many of the Western counties. If there are any things certain the facts that Morgan has been murdered & that the body lately found is his are so. To this it may be added as equally certain that whenever that subject is brought to bear upon the election the Anti-Mason party will succeed. All intelligent men at the West admit that & the whole bent of our exertions have been to give their nominations the best practicable direction & in this we are constantly counteracted by the Enquirer & Courier. In so inflammable a state is the public sentiment in those counties now that many who have taken the most interest in the matter are most alarmed on account the excesses to which the spirit of the people may lead. Reflecting masons see that the only relief to be expected must come from the strong feelings now afloat exhausting themselves which must be the case if no attempt is made to counteract them. Opposition & more especially ridicule but adds fuel to the flame. They are therefore silent & themselves complain of such indiscretions as the last article of M<sup>r</sup> Noah. It is calculated to do us more harm than all Charles King could do or say in a century. Several members of the Legislature have called on me this mor[n]ing & evince feelings of the keenest mortification. They have their elections coming on—they are Jackson

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<sup>18</sup> In 1837 Hoyt sought and obtained from Van Buren the post of Collector of the Port of New York. Van Buren's enemies spoke of Hoyt as the former's "pet."

<sup>19</sup> The well-known Masonic *exposé*. Noah was a Mason while Van Buren was not.

men—they know that if the anti-masonic feeling is brought to bear agt- them they have not the remotest chance of being elected. Do see Mr Noah & beg him to save us from more mortification upon this only subject that troubles us in the election field—

Yours truly

M. V. BUREN

Albany Octb 23<sup>d</sup> 1827

C.[hurchill] C.[aldom] C.[ambreleng].<sup>20</sup>

P. S. The only hopes of the Administration is to bring about a re-action in the State by their success in the City. you must therefore exert every nerve

Burn this letter <sup>21</sup>

XIII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 7, p. 123. 1827-28.]

A. L. S.

*Noah to Van Buren.*

NEW YORK Octo 2 1828

*Confidential*

My dear Sir

You have no doubt seen our list of the nominating Committee—with a few exceptions it is a good list and under good counsel will do well for the party, but unless some pains are taken by our friends I am not without apprehension that the valuable offices will be carried off by persons having no political claims but succeeding from the force of personal application—

My name has been mentioned very generally as a candidate for Sheriff and is generally well received. Personally I have no feelings & no wishes on the subject but the time has arrived when it is necessary for the republican party to do something for their paper which they can do at this moment as the regular ticket will succeed by a great majority

With the exception of the short & unprofitable period in which I held the Sheriffs office the party has not contributed one Dollar for the support of the paper & has left me alone unaided without Capital or friends to fight their battles & gain their victories for *ten years* while many who have done but little for the cause are retiring with full pockets. It is extremely difficult to carry on a political paper in a commercial community at an expense of \$25,000 per annum without aid from the party & this can come in a more agreeable shape than subscriptions or contributions.

John P Garniss & John Tream are the only candidates for Sheriff One an old federalist—the other a leading peoples man—

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<sup>20</sup> He was a Congressman.

<sup>21</sup> *Calendar*, p. 85.

the party when well advised can have no hesitation on the subject—These offices are the property of the party & if one is given to me the avails go to the support of their own paper it goes in fact into the pockets of the party I take it we are to be broken up after the election as our elements are too discordant to keep together and in that event I do not wish the Enquirer to fall into hands having views foreign to the settled wishes of our friends & thus throw this important district into confusion—You can aid my views by dropping a few lines to Campbell P. White—Ben<sup>12</sup> Baily or any of our friends who will press the question upon the Committee & no doubt with success—There never was a better time to aid the paper; as to myself I entertain no hope of growing rich in political strife but there are many considerations which require that the paper be taken care of, putting aside my claims—If you can with propriety move a little in this affair or Mr Marcy or Flagg can do any thing among their friends here I am sure there is every disposition to do so & it will be done Every thing looks well & united here.

very truly yours  
M M NOAH <sup>22</sup>

## XIV.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 8, p. 20. 1828-29.]

A. L. S.

*Forman to Van Buren.*

Martin Van Buren Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dear Sir

. . . . I think too he [Newbold] was rendered more cautious by a foolish publication of Noah of some garbled statement he has got of it—I presume from conversations of Judge Kent with whom I first talked without reserve before I saw you & thro young Baily to Noah; Newbold expressed his regret that the publication had been made & *feared* it might operate on your mind to deter you from saying any thing on the subject [of the United States Bank]—from all which I feel satisfied that it has been with the three New York Bankers named as Olcott says it was with him the more he considered the principles of it the more reasonable beneficial it appeared— . . . .

Y our Mo ObS<sup>rt</sup>,  
JOSHUA FORMAN <sup>23</sup>

New York

Dec<sup>r</sup> 17, 1828

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<sup>22</sup> *Calendar*, p. 93. In 1829 Webb's *Courier* was merged with Noah's *Enquirer*.

<sup>23</sup> *Calendar*, p. 96.

XV.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 8, p. 84. 1828-29.]

A. L. S.

*Hamilton to Van Buren.*

(Confidential)

NEW YORK March 3<sup>d</sup> 1829—

Dear Sir.

Since Noah has returned from Washington strong suspicions are entertained that he has been drawn over to the Calhoun Interest—It is with this view that Smith is so active to give him the Patronage of the Legislature His language as repeated to me is expressive of doubts as to the propriety of accepting the State Department as tending to disorganize the Republican Party throughout the State—Engaged as you now must be with higher topics I hesitated whether to trouble you or not with this information—as corroborative of the suspicion of tampering with Editors I add the following the following fact. Coleman sent for me last Evening to advise him what to do—a Proposition has been made to get rid of him on a Pension or buy him out—I have advised him to do neither but purchase the other Interests which amount to \$20000 & consolidate the whole— . . . .

I am Truly & Respy

Your Obt Servt

JNO C HAMILTON <sup>24</sup>

His Excy.

The Governor—

XVI.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 8, p. 98. 1828-29.]

A. L. S.

*Ritchie to M. M. Noah.*

Saturday Night

[March 14, 1829.] <sup>25</sup>

My D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I cannot conceive the reason why you have not recd. the R.[ichmond] Enquirer. No Circular has ever reached me from your office—and on examining our Exchange List, I find that the paper is entered to your own name, and that it has been regularly forwarded.—I should be really mortified at the failure of the paper, if it had any thing in it truly worthy your acceptance.—Such as it is, however, you are heartily welcome to it—and with a view of ensuring it a more certain delivery I have directed the name of

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<sup>24</sup> *Calendar*, p. 102. A son of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>25</sup> Added in pencil; not in original.



your *paper* to be substituted in place of *your own*.—Of one circumstance I beg you to be assured; that no Editor can be more duly sensible of the value of your own paper, than I am.

I think the old General's Cabinet might be improved, though I am not as well aware as you are of the difficulties he had to cope with—I thought he ought to have gone for the best & ablest men, no matter where they were to be found—whether in the small State of Delaware, or in the largest State of [?] the Union.—The cabinet he has selected is not of that splendid sort, which rivets the confidence of his friends, or dazzles and overcomes his Enemies. They are already animated to raise the banner against the Administration—and it will require all our discretion to rally our own friends, and all our skill to encounter our opponents. If the measures of the Administration are wise and useful, there is no danger. If they are not, we shall be again at sea; and I foresee all the difficulties which you anticipate.—I have great confidence in Van Buren's tact, sagacity, knowledge of mankind, temper & admirable talents.—But all these will be of little avail, unless he has the courage to tell Gen. J. the truth. Some of his friends have doubts in this respect—I confess I have none. He has every motive to advise Gen. J. to the best of his abilities—his gratitude to Jackson, his love for his country, and his own reputation are indissolubly associatd with that of both. If you should see Van Buren, be so good as to present this subject in the most striking way that you think best.

Be assured that it would give me great pleasure to keep with you. To reform the abuses of the Gov<sup>t</sup>, to bring it back to the true principles of the Constitution, is the wish nearest to my heart. I ask nothing for myself of the Old Hero—all I hope for is for [the coun]try at large.

I am deeply sensible of the complimt you pay to the Principles of Virginia—But I have no idea that the sceptre will come round to her, for several Years to come.—We are conte[n]t to be without it; and even without any hand in the Administration. If Gen. J. can do better elsewhere, be it so—but, we shall not on this account, be less anxious to support the Administration of the man we have supportd, if he guides his course by liberal & enlightend principles. I pledge you my honor, that all the little hints you may have seen in the Coalition prints about the discontent & disaffection of V<sup>a</sup> are utterly false & unfounded.—

Will you do me the favor to inform Messrs. Campbell & Son, (Paper Makers) of your town, that the specimen sheet they promised to send us has not yet arrived. We ask them to send

us another immediately—and we wish them to state finally what is the lowest they will take for about 1100 Reams of such paper (like the “Petersburg Times,”) *no outside Quires*, [?] on six months credit each parcel, & the whole to be delivered in this City to us at their risk, in the course of the year—We wish to make our Contract as soon as possible.

I will cheerfully render you any assistance in *these parts*, that is in my power—and believe me, D<sup>r</sup> Sir, Yours Truly,

THOM[A]S RITCHIE <sup>26</sup>

XVII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 13. 1831, Mar. 7-Sept. 21.]

A. L. S.

*Webb to Van Buren.*

NEW YORK April 12<sup>th</sup> 1831.

Dear Sir

That madman & drunkard, John I. Mumford, has circulated a report that *you* have urged upon General Jackson the removal of M<sup>r</sup> Noah from the office of Surveyor of the Port; and I am sorry to add that your enemies have succeeded to a certain extent, in producing a belief that it is your intention to remove him. As to the charge of Noah's going to Albany to aid the U. S. Bank, it is without the shadow of truth. To my knowledge he went in relation to the Harbour railroad, and left there in great haste, because he found his presence was calculated to injure the bill, in consequence of his name being in it as one of the Commissioners. *I* did talk freely about the Bank, and urged the propriety of letting Newbolds resolution lay on the table but Noah did not interfere.

His negotiation with Tyler to purchase his interest, commenced four months ago, and it was finally arranged in the following manner. N. to pay \$5,000 cash and \$5,000 in three equal annual payments. Cash he had none, & M<sup>r</sup> Stewart & myself loaned it to him; & to induce Tyler to take a mortgage for the balance, it was expressly stipulated in the Bill of Sale, that Noah shall not draw any thing from the concern until the debt to Tyler is liquidated. So you will perceive that he has no mode of living but by his office. We surely did not apprehend any danger of his removal from connecting himself with this paper, and a moments reflection will shew you that he had reason to believe it would not give offense. When he was appointed to office was he not the editor of the Enquirer? Did Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson require him to sell out, but on the contrary was it not distinctly understood that he should continue his labours? His coming back therefore, at this time,

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<sup>26</sup> *Calendar*, p. 104. And note, *Calendar*, p. 105. I note, but have not seen, C. H. Ambler's “Thomas Ritchie,” Richmond, Va., 1913.

but places him where he then was, and what was unobjectionable then, cannot, or at least should not, give offense now.

To the ravings of Mumford it is unnecessary to refer. I have mentioned how Noah effected his purchase, and that in itself proves the baseness of the charge that the U. S. Bank aided him. I confess that I do not attach the least credit to the report that *you* are seeking his removal, but attribute it to the enmity of those who well know that such a report is calculated to do you serious injury. I have thought it proper however, to apprise you of it, together with the entire dependence of Noah upon the salary of his office for support, and I hope you will not consider it improper to inform me whether it is in contemplation to make any change in his office. That I feel a deep interest in the question you cannot doubt, and that it is one of vital importance to him, is equally certain. If his connection with this paper should cause his removal, then has his purchase been a most unfortunate one; but how it can cause offense now, when he was originally appointed while an editor, is beyond my comprehension.

It is not our policy to continue the fight against the U. S. Bank in this city. The merchants are so dependent upon it indirectly, that they will not support us in it. They know that their country dealers would, if the Bank were not in existence pay them & remit them bills one two & three per cent below par. I am decidedly opposed to its being rechartered with its present powers and so is Noah. He I believe doubts its constitutionality. We intend however, to consult the interest of the party & of the paper in this respect & while all shall know of our hostility to the Institution we will urge it only so far as these interests may require.

Believe me Sincerely

Your fr[ien]d & Obedt Svt

JAS WATSON WEBB.

P. S. M. Noah devotes no more time to the Cou & Enq. now than he has during the last two years, and pays the same attention to his office duties as heretofore,

J. W. W.<sup>27</sup>

To the Hon M. Van Buren<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Calendar*, p. 154.

<sup>28</sup> And note, *Calendar*, pp. 152, 153, entry under April 3, 1831. Noah sold his interest in the *Courier and Enquirer* to Webb.

XVIII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 14. 1831-32.]

A. L. S.

*Hamilton to Van Buren.*<sup>29</sup>

NEW YORK Dec<sup>r</sup> 7 1831<sup>30</sup>

. . . . You will have observed that Noah is still pressing you as a candidate for the Vice Presidency This is mischievous & may injure you I therefore advise you to write a letter to some friend in this State say Marcey alluding to the fact that your name has been put forth and authorise him to say that you are not & have not been a candidate for that office at the same time recommend that the Question As to which of the Distinguished persons is to be taken should be later be settled by a convention.

If you do not do something of this kind it will be believed that Noah & Webb are acting with your assent or at least that you are willing to take the Chances. I am quite sure that something of this kind is necessary at all events send the letter out & leave it to your friends to use it or not as circumstances may require. . . .<sup>31</sup>

XIX.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 38. 1840, Jan. 10-May 4.]

A. L. S.

*Noah to Hoyt.*

(Private)

Dear Hoyt

You will perceive that the enclosed is precisely the thing to make Capital with in the Slave States at the expense of Confidence & good faith How M<sup>r</sup> Van Buren could have *Committed* himself

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<sup>29</sup> *Calendar*, p. 168.

<sup>30</sup> Written by James Alexander Hamilton, and signed only with his initials.

<sup>31</sup> Noah is mentioned, in connection with the bank question, in a letter from William Berkeley Lewis, an army officer, who was close to President Andrew Jackson, dated Washington, January 1, 1832, and addressed to James Alexander Hamilton, 1788-1878, the son of Washington's Secretary of the Treasury. See his "Reminiscences; or, Men and events at home and abroad, during three quarters of a century," New York, 1869, pp. 235, 236. *Cp.*, also, *ibid.*, p. 173. Hamilton was subsequently a violent opponent of Van Buren: see his "Martin Van Buren's calumnies repudiated; Hamilton's conduct . . . vindicated," New York, 1870. A copy of this pamphlet is in the New York Public Library.

so far is inexplicable to me Make what use of it you please but  
dont send it to the Whig Central Committee at Richmond

Yrs very truly

M M NOAH

N York 14 April 1840 <sup>32</sup>

J Hoyt Eq

*Indorsed:* Letter to Noah in 1819  
returned by him  
through J Hoyt <sup>33</sup>

VAN BUREN AND N. NATHAN.

XX.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 21. Dec. 7, 1834-Jul. 6, 1835.]

A. L. S.

*Nathan to Van Buren.*

HARRISBURG March 7 1835 <sup>34</sup>

Dear Sir,

Since I addressed you yesterday the minority of the Delegates viz the Webb Men went into Convention and nominated a Governor whom they expect the people to support (but they *will* not,) and appointed Delegates to the National Convention in May pledged to support for President the Man of the people *Martin Van Buren*, whom the people will support; they were driven to *this* nomination by the firmness & moral courage of the friends of Muhlenburg who are your *Sincere friends* & have accomplished much for *you*.

The election of Delegates being referred back to the people at the Dissolution of the Convention yesterday, new elections will take place when will meet the 6<sup>th</sup> of May to nominate a Governor, who will be H A Muhlenberg and choose Delegates to the National Convention in May to nominate a Candidate for President viz Martin Van Buren & if thought adviseable a Vice President, so that I may congratulate you upon receiving the full support of the Democracy of the State, but you owe nothing to the packed Convention of today whose Delegates Cannot *will* not I'm sure be received into the National *Convention*, because it was not a Convention recognized by the people; it was the last gasp of the Wolf & panick Democracy of Penn<sup>a</sup>, The Muhlenberg

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<sup>32</sup> *Calendar*, p. 393.

<sup>33</sup> Written in pencil. This probably refers to the letter dated December 17, 1819: see *supra*, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> *Calendar*, p. 237.



Ticket which will be formed in May will carry by an overwhelming majority—The Anti Masonick party have formed a ticket (Ritner for Governor) the Whigs have seperated from them & will form a ticket with another Candidate (Lawrence) for Governor, Muhlenberg will surely *distance* the whole there can be no doubt of it I do & have pledged my political reputation upon it, they placed at the Wolf Convention of to day, on the Delegate ticket a few names to give credit to it, viz George Kramer & others (who will be placed on the legitimate ticket) but there are panick men & *panick* makers upon it whose names will not take with the people they made an effort to nominate Geo. M. Dallas, & Wilkins for the V. P but could'nt succeed for there were some in favor of *Rives* they tried hard & expected to succeed with Dallas or Wilkins, but were driven finally to give up any nomination for V. P.—Your majority in Pen<sup>a</sup> will be great there is no doubt now of the V. B. Ticket in Pen<sup>a</sup>

Please inform M<sup>r</sup> Buchanan if at Washington of the above and I would as a friend advise him not to identify himself with the Wolf party (it's gone)—I shall leave to night for Philad<sup>a</sup> where I should feel happy in receiving any Communication from you.

Yr faithful & firm friend

N. NATHAN <sup>35</sup>

VAN BUREN AND SAMUEL HART.

XXI.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 22. Jul. 7, 1835-Feb. 1, 1836.]

A. L. S.

*Hart to Van Buren.*

PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Novem<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1835 <sup>36</sup>

Dear Sir,

It is with much pleasure that I have the honor to inform you, that at a meeting of "The Democratic Club N<sup>o</sup> 1 of the City and County of Philad<sup>a</sup>" held on the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, You were unanimously elected an honorary member thereof; whenever you may visit the City of Philad<sup>a</sup> the Club would be highly gratified with your presence, their meetings are held weekly—

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<sup>35</sup> He may have been the son, or a descendant, of Mendez Nathan and Rebecca Solomon. See "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. ix, p. 177.

<sup>36</sup> *Calendar*, p. 248. At this time Van Buren was Vice-President of the United States.

I annex an extract from the Constitution sufficient to show you some of the important object's for which we are associated, together with the names of the Officers of the Club, among whom you will readily recognise some early and efficient friend's.

Having, during the struggle of 1832 while a member of Hickory Club N° 1, had the honor of taking your hand and expressing my pleasure, in anticipating your election to the elevated situation which you now occupy with so much credit to our beloved Country:

Permit me to say that I feel a still greater pleasure, in anticipating your elevation to the highest office in the gift of a great and free People; and the Complete triumph of Democracy over an unholy Combination, opposed to correct principles and an administration whose patriotic and eminently successfull Course, will live in history for the admiration and instruction of after ages.

With Sentiments of the highest Respect

I remain Your Sincere Friend

SAMUEL HART Corres<sup>d</sup> Secretary

" We the undersigned, Citizens of the City & County of Philad<sup>a</sup>; justly revering the principles of democracy as proclaimed and advocated in the support of human right's, by Jefferson and other illustrious founders of the Republic, deeply impressed with a conviction that upon the maintenance of their principles in their purity and simplicity, essentially depends the preservation of the liberty and prosperity of the People, with a view the more effectually to unite and Concentrate our strength in their support;

Do hereby associate together under the name, and title of the Democratic Club N° 1 of the City & County of Philad<sup>a</sup>, pledging ourselves individually and collectively to promote the same by all just means "

|                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| President          | Henry Horn                     |
| Vice President's   | John F. Stump                  |
|                    | W <sup>m</sup> English         |
|                    | Gen <sup>l</sup> Mahlon Dungan |
| Correspg Secretary | Samuel Hart <sup>87</sup>      |
| Recording "        | Peter A. Grotjan               |
| Treasurer          | Col Henry Simpson              |

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<sup>87</sup> A son of his is mentioned in " The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 241.

XXII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 30. 1837, Oct. 18-Dec. 15.]

A. L. S.

*Hart to Van Buren.*

PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Novem<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1837

His Excellency Martin Van Buren,  
President of the United States,

Dear Sir,

The undersigned, humble and unknown to you; but one of your earliest and steady supporters, for the high station which you now fill, with so much ability and honour to your country; takes the liberty of addressing you, on a subject which he considers of vital importance, to the great Democratic family of the State of Pennsylvania and equally so to the whole Union—

I have witnessed with deep regret, State after State falling away from the true faith; and from the great curse of the money power in our own, we have much to apprehend, independent of the particular difficulty which is intended to be overcome by the suggestion contained in this letter—

It must be well known to you, that the division in the Democratic ranks, at the Gubernatorial election of 1835; resulted in the elevation of the Candidate of the Federal Party; the nomination of Mr Muhlenberg, certainly the most prominent, and without doubt the most deservedly popular candidate; is likely to meet with a most unrighteous opposition, from many supporters of the late Gov. Wolf; and being a warm friend and admirer of Mr Muhlenberg, I for one am entirely averse to a dishonorable withdrawal of his name from the contest, when his nomination is considered a matter beyond doubt—

But though a friend of Mr Muhlenbergs both personally and politically; yet I am a more strenuous friend and supporter of Democratic Principles and the prosperity of the Democratic party—

Pennsylvania I consider has claims of the strongest character, and *now* peculiarly her own, for a participation in the higher councils of the Nation; She has been probably too long neglected, but an opportunity now offers by which she may be satisfied and an important breach healed, by calling one of her most worthy sons, to the exalted station which he so richly merits—

The suggestion is made with the utmost respect; and a compliance with which, is the only way I conceive, in which our candidate can be expected to retire from the field; If you consider the triumph of the Democracy of the State, worth obtaining at the

next election, secure it by a compliance with the desires, of your true and devoted friend's; for you may rely upon it, if we are again defeated, the power of the enemy will be so strengthened, that we will be prostrated to rise no more; it's consequences will be fatal to the Union, for the Key Stone of the Arch will have fallen, and the Bank's reign triumphant on the ruins—

This address has been made without the knowledge of Mr Muhlenberg, and prompted by motives of the most disinterested love for the well being of that Party, in whose hands only, our Republican Institutions and our Liberties can be safe;

With confident reliance on your wisdom and known affection for the principles of democracy; and believing after mature consideration, of the important results depending upon it; you will cheerfully comply with what appears to me to be, a reasonable request; and "Old Democratic Berks" will no doubt acknowledge the honour, by again & again, sending her majority of *Thousands*, to swell the triumph of our Friend's and strike terror to the heart's of our Foes—

I am Yours Very Respectfully

SAMUEL HART<sup>28</sup>

### XXIII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 43. May 1841-February 1842.]

A. L. S.

*Hart to Van Buren.*

PHILADELPHIA June 28<sup>th</sup> 1841

Dear Sir,

As a *small* portion of the Democratic Party in this vicinity have, prematurely, opened the Presidential campaign, and are striving to *thrust* upon us as a candidate, one who has done his country some service, but in whose capacity and political principles we have not that confidence, which should be infused into a party, at the commencement of a contest, which promises to be of no ordinary character; and being driven to take ground against a movement of so dangerous a tendency; A meeting was called for the purpose of ascertaining from Col. [Thomas H.] Benton, whether he would permit his name to be used as a candidate for the Presidency, as his well established character for talent and sound democratic principles assimilated so closely to yours, would, without much doubt, receive a cheerful support from the mass of the great

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<sup>28</sup> *Calendar*, p. 321.

party of which he now appears to be the most prominent leader, but as was *expected* by many, the Col. most positively declined the intended honor; and after a consultation among some of our most prominent and efficient friend's in the good cause, we have come to the conclusion, that you are *the* man, upon whom the *true* Democracy of the Country can and will unite; they truly say, that now is not the time for a temporising policy, but that it is our duty to maintain fearlessly, the principles and measures of your administration, which are gaining friends every day—

That you can be again nominated I have very little doubt, and your friends here would like to have the advantage of your early consent—

The critical situation of our public affairs, both foreign and domestic, requires a man to take the helm, whose practical knowledge of the Science of Government, and undoubted political principles, will call to his aid, such men as the times require and in whom the people will have undoubted confidence, and I know of none, more likely to accomplish the desired object, the ascendancy of the Democratic Party and its principles, than yourself—

I have written this without the knowledge of, or consultation with any person whatever; and any reply you may be pleased to make, may be made confidentially or otherwise, as you may deem most adviseable; my object in writing, is particularly for my own satisfaction, to know whether you will consent to be a candidate for nomination, by the Democratic National Convention; so that I may act accordingly, either in encouraging or suppressing the measures contemplated by your political friend's, among whom I flatter myself, I have some little influence—

Permit me to congratulate you upon the accession to your family, of a lady, no doubt worthy the man to whom she has united herself for life—My Lady intends ascending the North River, in the course of a few days, and if she should get into your neighbourhood, will probably, with some friends who will accompany her, call to see you—

With sentiments of the highest respect,  
I remain Your Very Humble Servant

SAMUEL HART<sup>39</sup>

H[onorable] Martin Van Buren

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<sup>39</sup> *Calendar*, p. 428. Van Buren had just been defeated for re-election to the presidency.



## XXIV.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 51. 1844, May 30-Oct.]

PHILAD<sup>a</sup> June 11. 1844

Dear Sir,

I was so exceedingly mortified and disgusted with the conduct of a portion of the Penn<sup>a</sup> delegation, and disappointed at the result of the proceedings of the National Convention, that I had to forego my promise to report to you;—Those men, who so shamefully betrayed their trust, meet with their just reward in the contempt of every good democrat in this community, and in the satisfaction of knowing, that they have entirely ruined every prospect of success of the man, whom they pretended to serve, in the teachery which they perpetrated upon their constituents—

I really felt sorry for our friend Horn when the treason on the part of our delegates was Consummated, by the adoption of the two third rule; and I could not prevail upon him to remain in Baltimore until the nominations were made; but upon my arrival in Philad<sup>a</sup> very early in the morning, I communicated to him the names of the successful candidates, which partially restored his spirits, in knowing how signally the Conspirators were defeated, by the highly to be praised conduct of your confidential friends—

I am well satisfied that you stand higher in the estimation of those worthy to be called friends, than you ever did before; and that justice will be done your character, even by your political enemies—

I remain Yours Very Respectfully

SAMUEL HART <sup>40</sup>Hon Martin Van Buren <sup>41</sup>

VAN BUREN AND BENJAMIN F. HART.

## XXV.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 29. 1837, Aug. 5-Oct. 17.]

A. L. S.

*Hart to Van Buren.*NEW YORK September 6<sup>th</sup> 1837.

President Van Buren,

Highly Esteemed Sir,

Permit an humble friend (who feels tenacious of the rights of his fellow-Citizens) after the perusal of your message to Congress,

<sup>40</sup> *Calendar*, p. 534.<sup>41</sup> He unsuccessfully canvassed for the Presidential nomination, even from the anti-Masonic party, in May, 1844. And see, *Calendar*, pp. 536, 537.

to return to you my most heartfelt and undisguised *gratitude* for the principles inculcated, and for the simple & pure doctrines (which throbbed in the breasts of our revolutionary forefathers) declared in this, one, of the purest documents ever emanating from the hand of the Executive. I rejoice that I live under them and that Martin Van Buren dare put them forth in the face of a proud aristocracy, and in the gloomy days of Panic & Presure. I fervently pray Heaven that his choicest blessings may crown your efforts in the herculean task at the helm of Government.

It is fortunate indeed for the people that you are at this time their executive officer and dare declare the pure & patriotic principles of the revolution at the formation of the Constitution in its simplicity, and particularly for the welfare of the poor but honest labouring man.

Our plain simple Federal form of Government as laid down in the Constitution, I see will now be brought back in its purity if Congress embrace your views, and then with watchful vigilance our Government will be founded on a Rock which no man or set of men through sinister motives can overthrow.

The collection and care of the revenue in Gold & Silver—the disbursement of the same under the immediate eye of the Executive is the only true principle that can be adopted in our Government, and the constant receipt and payment of those funds in specie will be like a living spring of water or the dews of heaven to the american people—It will prevent overtrading and speculation, and our nation will evade that Mushroom groth which has sprung up amongst us—give stability to commerce and commercial transactions—we shall be permanently the most happy and flourishing government on earth.

There is not one word of the Message but I can see clearly the work of sagacity, wisdom & patriotism. It is a document thousands will rejoiceingly peruse and you will witness the fruits of your disinterested patriotism in the firm and honest support of the Yeomanry, laboring, & Mechanical interests of our Country—sustaining on this trying occasion triumphantly your principles is every particular.

You would rejoice to witness the honest gratulations of your real friends here on reading your message—there is no fear but that you will be proudly sustained and when the time arrives for action depend on it the Democracy will rally round your standard.

May God long preserve you for future usefulness to our Country,  
and bless you with his choicest blessings is the sincere prayer of

Yours with High respect

BENJAMIN F. HART

Martin Van Buren

President of the U. States

N. B. I shall visit Washington during the present Month, and you must gratify an humble Citizen with a cordial shake of the hand. It shall be the shake of a friend.<sup>42</sup>

VAN BUREN AND THE JEWS.

XXVI.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 50. 1844, Apr. 23-May 29.]

A. L. S.

*Rogers to Van Buren.*

LOUISVILLE May 13<sup>th</sup> 1844

M<sup>r</sup> Martin Van Buren

Dear Sir

You will probably be the nominee of the Baltimore Convention and may be our next president information of whatever nature respecting that however indirectly is no doubt very pleasing and interesting to you at all times what political judgement I possess will not warrant me in saying that Henry Clay prospects for that office will be successful. Among those things which I take into consideration in forming that opinion are very popular with the American people it is well known that the Jews as a people on principle cannot be friendly to anything of a liberal nature with them is very conspicuous all the if not the grovelling most certainly all the absorbing avaricious and none of the exalted characteristics of our nature. they hold most of the civil offices connected with the business of this place such as Collectors Constables Lawyers Sheriffs Canal Agents, &c and as usual with them they are often in a double capacity for instance the prosecuting Attorney for the State is also the City Atty getting a Salary for the two places of about \$2500 or \$3,000 Dolls per annum from which you would very justly infer that they had an undue and great influence how well this Henry Clay has sought and which is strongly marked by his usual course his Son married the daughter of one of the most influential of these people and has courted them in every manner.<sup>43</sup> I then looked for some demonstrations in an

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<sup>42</sup> *Calendar*, p. 312.

<sup>43</sup> See *Publications*, No. 17, p. 81 *et seq.*

outward manner and it was not long before I was gratified in that respect one of the Whig electors of this State Leslie Combs went to New Orleans with him on the same Steamboat with him during his stay there and he had scarcely left when this Leslie Combs was found to have defrauded a hundred thousand Dollars from those who had entrusted him with their confidence the public institutions at this place are used for the worse of purposes all of which I trace to the same corrupt source. this I considered would be of some interest to you and as such I am very willing you should have it as an exponent of the principles of your rival

Very respectfully

W<sup>m</sup> ROGERS JR <sup>44</sup>

VAN BUREN AND URIAH H. JUDAH.

XXVII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 53. 1845-47.]

A. L. S.

*Judah to Van Buren.*

NEW YORK April 12<sup>th</sup> 1847,<sup>45</sup>

Sir,

Accompanying this you will receive a pamphlet issued by the New York Samaritan Society, delineating its objects, which the Managers thereof have requested me to transmit for inspection at your leisure or convenience.

And in thus conforming to the instructions of the respectable and noble-hearted Ladies who have been instrumental in forming, promoting and sustaining this laudible Association, I beg leave to communicate in their behalf, that if any apology is deemed requisite for an intrusion on your time or encroachment on your attention, it can readily be grounded on the zeal and kindly feelings which "our favorite son" has hitherto manifested and displayed toward this heavenly undertaking, and which have proved so harmonious to the philanthropic throbbings of their hearts when they contemplate upon the distinguished source from which that encouragement has emanated.

It may be, that the varied cares which have attended your eventful career, or the manifold perplexities that, perchance, have encompassed your onward summit to glory and to greatness have obliterated from the tablet of memory, a knowledge of the fact,

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<sup>44</sup> *Calendar*, p. 520. See *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society, January, 1912 (Z. F. Smith).

<sup>45</sup> *Calendar*, p. 569.

that you honoured this same Samaritan society by attending their Concert, in 1840, at Tammany Hall.

And, finally, Sir, my duty would be but partially discharged if I omitted to tender you the best wishes of those connected with this glorious enterprise—of WOMAN, the last and best of all create—for the prolongment of YOUR life, to the end that it may placidly glide away in the tranquil enjoyment of all earthly bliss; and I altho but an humble and unpretending native of that "Empire State," which has reaped so glorious a harvest, from the eminence of your position, and the dassing splendour of your talents, but convey to you the inward feelings of my heart when I unite with them in this feeble 'though merited tribute of respect; and now, that you are pursuing the noiseless tenor of your way it increases the homage that we would render, because the political glory, which has gathered around your name has purified with a beautiful lustre the generous sentiments of the heart.

I have the honor to be,

Your Most Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

URIAH H. JUDAH.<sup>46</sup>

Nº 7 New St

Honorable Martin Van Buren.

VAN BUREN AND ISAAC S. ISAACS.

XXVIII.

[Van Buren Papers. Vol. 60. 1856-60.]

A. L. S.

*Isaacs to Van Buren.*

[1857?]

OSWEGO March 7<sup>h</sup>

Mr Van Buren,

Dear Sir

Yours of the 1<sup>st</sup> enclosing a check for \$150 was received, I cannot collect anything from Mr Smith, he says he will pay you this summer, but tis impossible to raise the money in time for the taxes, Mr Shatzel cannot pay at present, it is very close times in money matters I am very sorry not to be able to collect, The Collector says he will be obliged to make his returns on Saturday

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<sup>46</sup> A scion of the Judah family. See "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vii, p. 331 *et seq.* He contributed occasional verse to the daily press of his time, and was presumably affiliated with the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation.



*Correspondence with President Van Buren—Friedenberg. 99*

next. I am short \$170, & do not know how to raise the amount. I will send you a statement of account with the tenants in a day or two as soon as I can make it out,

Yours truly I S ISAACS

*Indorsed:* I. S. Isaacs

March 10

Sent him

check for

\$170

W[or]th (?) to order <sup>47</sup>

XXIX.

[Van Buren Papers. *Ibid.*]

A. L. S.

*Isaacs to Van Buren.*

[1858?]

OSWEGO Jan 26''

Hon M Van Buren,

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 21<sup>st</sup> was received. I have called on the purchasers and delivered the amount of your orders and they make me fair promises to pay in time for the county taxes, which must be paid about the middle of next month. I called to see Judge Brewster to deliver your letter, he had gone to Rochester would be absent until Saturday evening, My letter respecting the taxes referred to the county tax mearly, Why the county tax is so heavy this year is the amount raised for the poor about \$30,000, I will write you more fully in a few days.

Yours truly

I S ISAACS <sup>48</sup>

XXX.

[Van Buren Papers. *Ibid.*]

L. S.

*Isaacs to Van Buren.*

OSWEGO July 6, 1859

Hon Martin Van Buren

Dear Sir

I have been confined to the House for Two Months past which has caused my silence. However I have got out again and am improving daily

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<sup>47</sup> *Calendar*, p. 647.

<sup>48</sup> *Calendar*, p. 650.

Enclosed you have I C Wright Bond & Mortgage on which I succeeded in getting of Mr Hall \$50 He says his Father intends taking up the Mortgage in the Spring. I assessed a \$100 on Andrews & OLeary the purchasers of part of Lot 68 I have paid the City assessment \$298 There is still due on the County Tax \$25 about & on the Town \$127 I shall be short some—cannot tell how much at present I do not succeed very well in collecting—do not get anything from Ketcham the one who occupies the Doolittle Farm or Cranklin [?] who occupies the Pecoy Farm. Shall have to take the Buildings on the Doolittle Farm for rent—The Road Commissioners of the Town are at me again about opening Liberty Street to the City Line They want your consent to extend a Road through your tract to meet it—I have heard nothing more about the Racecourse—I have an application for the Flats & Woods on the west side of Liberty Street for 5 years, shall I lease it?

If you will send me an order on Mr R Oliver for \$100 for the Interest on his Bond & Mortgage I will see what I can do with him,  
The family all wish to be remembered

Respectfully  
Yr obd St  
I S ISAACS <sup>49</sup>

There are other letters in the collection from Myer Mosely, C. Levy, of Pickensville, Ala., J. E. Schwarz, I. Pollock, G. B. Benjamin, Isaac N. Arnold, and A. Myer. The identity of their writers as Jews cannot be determined affirmatively; they are therefore not included in this paper. Moreover, these letters contain nothing of Jewish interest.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Calendar*, p. 655.

<sup>50</sup> The Van Buren Papers embrace a document entitled, "Brief Remarks concerning the Democratic cause in Florida, with a suggestion, respectfully submitted to the consideration of the President." This was written, presumably about 1839, by David Levy, afterwards known as Yulee. It contains nothing of Jewish interest, and, for this reason, is merely noted here. For a reference to J. P. Benjamin, see the letter of Reverdy Johnson to Martin Van Buren, dated January 14, 1861 (*Calendar*, p. 658).



## AMERICA IN HEBREW LITERATURE.

BY REV. DR. MENDEL SILBER.

Throughout the centuries the Jew has kept in close touch with the world's work. And he has done this, not as a passive spectator, but as an active participant. His international position, his varied experiences, his knowledge of languages and his scientific equipment made his services indispensable in every new undertaking. He furnished maps and tables to mariners and explorers. He introduced the language and literature of one country to another. Prince and potentate often sought his counsel in commencing a new enterprise and then secured his capital to carry it on. He was, moreover, bound to be deeply concerned in everything that was going on in the world. Every political change in any country was sure to affect him in one way or another. Every war made the greatest demands upon his purse and property no less than upon his life. Every new acquisition of land on the part of any nation placed an additional burden upon his shoulders, and every colonizing scheme involved a sacrifice of his numbers.

Occasionally, however, some new project not only needed the services of the Jew, but also served the Jewish needs. Such an instance is the discovery of America. The value of the services of the Jew in the discovery is incalculably great. He defrayed, in part, at least, the expenses of Columbus' voyages, and he furnished the nautical information which enabled the navigator to find the New World. But equally great are the services which the discovery has rendered to the Jew. It was made at a time when he was homeless and destitute, and it created for him in what is now the United States, eventually, a haven of rest, a free and happy home. As can readily be imagined, therefore, he was deeply interested in the

history and progress of the New World from the very time of its discovery.

But what did he know about the New World; what did he write about it? These are questions which have often been asked, but which have not yet been fully answered. The references to this matter are stored away in books and manuscripts, which are not accessible to many. Of those who had access to them, many, no doubt, found the work too tedious, for it must be admitted that, to wade through the immense Hebrew literature in order to extract the passages relative to this subject, is a task which requires much patient plodding. The American Jewish Historical Society has, to be sure, gathered a vast amount of material bearing upon the history of the Jew in America. Franz Delitzsch (*Literaturblatt des Orients*, vol. i, pp. 22-26) gives some material on the subject. But the special sources of American Jewish history are still in the process of collection, and the storehouse of Hebrew literature has not yet been sufficiently searched.

The purpose of this essay is, therefore, that of presenting, without assuming to have fully exhausted the subject, a considerable amount of this material, in a free English translation, thereby placing within the reach of the public some needed information, much of which others have thus far neglected to gather together.

The period covered here begins with the discovery and extends to the present epoch. I considered it advisable to bring the work up to the year 1882, when Hebrew literature, through the influx of Hebrew-writing people, began to be produced in large quantity upon American soil itself. From that time to this something like five hundred Hebrew works, as shown by Mr. Ephraim Deinard, the noted bibliographer, in his bibliography of Hebrew works printed in America, have been published in this country. For this reason, it did not seem well to extend the field any farther. I did deem it advisable, however, to include several quotations from works written long before

the time of Columbus, as these show clearly that in theory the existence of a continent like America was known to Jewish writers hundred of years before the brave Columbus set out on his successful voyage of discovery.

In treating of America in Hebrew literature it might be well to say at the start that almost three hundred years before Copernicus and Columbus, Moses de Leon, the commonly accepted author of the Zohar (Leviticus i) tells of the revolutions of the earth as the cause of day and night, the antipodal habitation afforded by the globe, and the existence of a then unknown New World. He said:

In the book of Rabbi Hamnuna the Elder it is further explained that the earth revolves like a ball and that its inhabitants differ in appearance according to climatic conditions. These revolutions bring it about that when it is day on one-half of the globe, night reigns over the other half, and that when it is light for one part of the earth's inhabitants, for the other part it is dark. There are, moreover, places where it is always day, the nights being only of a few moments' duration.

And Moses de Leon was not the only Hebrew writer of the time who held such views. The same theory is advanced by Isaac ben Solomon Sahula in his *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* (the only Hebrew Incunabulum with woodcuts), a work containing fables and poetical tales. In that work, which was written in the latter part of the thirteenth century (1281)<sup>1</sup>, and published by Gerson Soncino about 1490 (according to Benjacob 1480), the author tells explicitly

that the globe "beneath us" is inhabited by people, and that when it is day on this side of the globe, it is night on the other side.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to Fuerst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, pt. iii, p. 196, it was written in 1241.

<sup>2</sup> The passage quoted from the Zohar has been attacked by Emden in his *Mitpahat Sefarim* (Altona, 1768), in which he condemns the publication of anonymous works, and by Rapoport in *Nahalat Yehudah* (Lemberg, 1873) which is an answer to M. Kunitz's defense of the authenticity of the Zohar. But, as we see

It might seem rather surprising to find such a conception of the earth in works of so early a date. Yet, centuries before that time the same conception was held by Jewish scholars. Salomon Parchon, in his Hebrew Lexicon (*Mahaberet ha-Aruk*), written in the twelfth century, says in defining the term "Kadur":

It signifies a round object like the ball that children make of leather, consisting of two hollow halves filled with feathers and sewed together, which they throw to one another or roll on the ground.

Such a definition of the word כדור by a Hebrew lexicographer meant that Jewish scholars of the twelfth century already thought the earth to be round, for, according to that definition, the Biblical phrase כדור ארץ (Is. xxii, 18) which had always been taken to mean the "disk-shaped earth," had to be interpreted as the "round," or "ball-shaped earth."

As a matter of fact, however, we may trace the conception that the earth is round much farther back, to the time of the Midrash and the Jerusalem Talmud. Thus, the Midrash, in giving an allegorical interpretation to Numbers vii, 13, says:

The words "one silver bowl" allude to the world which is shaped like a ball that is thrown from hand to hand, *Midrash Rabba*, Numbers xiii.

Still more explicit on the subject is the Jerusalem Talmud, where it is expressly stated that "the world is round," *Abodah Zara* iii, and quoted by Tossafot in the Babylonian Talmud, *Abodah Zara*, fol. 41a.

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(Basila already points this out in his *Amunat Hakamim*, Mantua, 1730, fol. 8a, which is a defense of Kabbalah), Sahula, too, expresses the same view as the Zohar. And even if the authenticity of the quoted passage in the Zohar, which was first published in 1558 (Mantua and Cremona) admitted of any doubt, that of Sahula certainly does not, since the *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* was published two years (according to Benjacob, twelve years) before the discovery of America.



The first mention of America appears in *Iggeret Or'hoth 'Olam* by Abraham Farissol, referred to by M. Kayserling in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 512, and in his "Christopher Columbus," Engl. transl., pp. 101, 102. The mention of the subject here is of particular importance, as the writer was a contemporary of Columbus, Farissol having lived 1451-1525. The work, which contains geography, and some folk-lore, was written in the year 1524, although it was not published until 1587, at Venice. The description of America is contained in chapter xxix, fol. 32, a & b.

It has been generally agreed among mathematicians, and cosmographers, especially to be found in the works of Ptolemy, that the southern part of the globe, beneath and opposite the Equator, so-called "hot-zone" and southward, is uninhabited. As a reason for this theory, the extreme heat occasioned by the direct rays of the sun had been pointed out. But in the course of time, after explorations had become much more frequent and many scholars and sovereigns had sent out expeditions by land and sea for purposes of discovery, this age-long assertion came to be regarded as incorrect. A circumstance that gave rise to a revision of the theory was the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, which, as we know, is situated far beyond the Equator. This discovery having been made and verified some twenty years ago by the scientists and explorers of the King of Portugal, the logical and probable supposition that it might be possible to find additional new land much farther still beyond the Equator soon became a generally accepted belief.

I have heard this theory explained, accidentally, while I was in Florence during the reign of Lorenzo de Medici, when that ruler received a present of cloves, spices and balsam from the Sultan of Egypt. It was then that I heard, in the house of Lorenzo, and in the presence of his son Peter, the assertion made that there must be an inhabited continent beyond the Equator. I have since had the assertion affirmed and fully explained in the days of the Duke Hercules, when I met a noble and skilled traveler who had fled from Piombino and spent almost twenty years in sailing upon the great Southern Sea. That gentleman affirmed the existence of a large Southern continent beyond the Equator in the following manner:

The way I look upon it is this. We who live in the "seven climes" north of the Equator can well stand the minimum and maximum of heat and cold, the long and short days, which are caused by the revolutions of the sun and its distance from the Northern quarter of the globe that we inhabit. We do not mind these changes because we are accustomed to them. Just so is it possible that there is a settled continent on the other quarter of the globe. It is altogether possible that on this continent too, there is firm ground and that it also experiences a change of seasons, heat and cold, day and night through the revolutions of the sun. And the inhabitants of that country south of the Equator endure these changes, just as we do here, because their disposition and temperament have become so well adapted to those changes that they do not in the least notice any interference with their nourishment or longevity. In other words, it is their particularly adapted temperament and constitution that enable the inhabitants of that continent to withstand the exceptional atmospheric conditions.

However, the existence of such a country is no longer a mere hypothesis. It is now an established fact that the Spanish ships which were sent on the expedition by the King crossed the border of the Gibraltar and sailed for sixteen months in search of such land. When they had reached Cape Viride, i. e. Green Peak, which is situated on the Southern Continent, to the left of the sea and opposite the Fortunatae Islands, as the Spanish call them, or the Canary Islands, they hoisted their sails and turned to the South, taking a somewhat South-Eastern course. Thus sailing in a South-Eastern direction, as stated, they left the Canaries to their right and Nether Ethiopia to their left, and went for two and a half months without making a single discovery. The despair of the pilots can readily be imagined. They almost gave up hope of ever returning, for their supply of food, water, and fuel had given out. But Divine Providence had decreed a kinder fate for them than death amid sea. Just as their despair had reached its highest point, those on the top of the mast discerned a large and long strip of land. As they came nearer they saw it covered with verdure, surrounded by hills, plains and valleys. They could further distinguish immense forests and clear fresh-water streams. They did not land at once, as they took it to be an uninhabited island. But when they had sailed over a thousand feet by the side of it, when they had inspected its large dimensions and had figured out how it could be traversed and circumnavigated, they came to the conclusion that the land they had thus found was

populated, and that it was exceedingly large in size, and they called it, because of its great length and breadth, "the New World."

Having landed, the explorers remained there about two and a half months, during which time they visited different places, eating and drinking in the company of the natives, with whom, with great difficulty, and through the aid of an interpreter, they carried on a conversation, and were thus able to obtain the following description of the country and its people:

The natives are black, inclining to red. They have red eyes and glowing countenances. They go naked all their lives, and dwell in caves or tents. Clothing and coverings for any part of the body do not exist there. Their *coitus* is after the fashion of the lower animals, *retro*. Before *coitus*, *ut desiderium mulieris in coitu augmentetur*, the women have a custom, like the one that is prevalent among the women of Nether Ethiopia, *ad virgam erigendam*, they carry on unctions or they pierce some animal *ut patio augmentetur*. Incest in all its degrees is permitted throughout the land. They are without a ruler, and have neither law nor a deity. It may be said that they are simply guided by natural laws. There is no such a thing among them as personal property or exclusive possession. Everything is free. They eat and drink and propagate their species in common. It often happens that men cast out their wives to go where they will, and do as they please.

At times hostility and strife break out among the natives, and they fight one another bitterly with bow and arrow, or with rocks, or by inflicting cruel wounds, for they have no weapons, due to the fact that they have not discovered any metal in that country. Those who are victorious in war, kill their enemies and eat them. The flesh that is not eaten immediately is salted and preserved for further consumption, just as the cannibals do, for human flesh is considered a great delicacy among them. The healthy climate of the country, and the invigorating winds that blow there make the inhabitants very strong and healthy, so that they live to be over one hundred and fifty years old. There is but little sickness among them and, whenever some slight illness does occur, they cure themselves by certain herbs whose healing properties are well known to the people.

The land is very rich in natural resources. There is an abundance of fish near the shore, which the people catch by peculiarly constructed nets. These fishes, of which there is a great plenty,

are of a fine quality, and of inestimable price. Some of them resemble those that we have here, but there are in addition many species of which we have no knowledge at all. There are also large forests alongside the rivers, where all sorts of perfume can be gotten. These forests teem with numberless big and small beasts of prey, so strong and ferocious that they devour lions and leopards; with snakes and serpents that are as large as beams; and with all kinds of vile reptiles. The sand along the shores of the rivers, whose waters are fresh and clear, contains pure gold that is priceless, besides chips of precious stones that can be readily prepared. Also, there is an incalculable amount of mother-of-pearl right near the shore.

But the people there do not value all these treasures. Regarding, as they do, all natural products as public property, and free for everybody, they do not pay the slightest attention to the precious stones. Otherwise, incantation, sorcery and trickery of every description to ward off evil, abound throughout the length and breadth of that country.

Of other points of interest about the New World, I may mention that it lies under the pole of what they call the Antarctic Sea, farther south than the Capricorn Islands. In the evening there are visible in that land certain stars that are joined closely together, and are marked by lines which make them appear like an inverted zig-zag. These stars, which serve to guide seafarers, who, for many days in succession rely upon these for their safe course, are arranged in the following manner: there are two above, two below, two at the side, and sixteen lines and marks in the center.

Further explorations which the above mentioned pilots conducted, disclosed some islands south of the continent. One of these, which is not elevated above the sea level, was seen at dawn from a distance, and it shone like gold because of the brilliant little stones which line its shores. But for some reason, the explorers could not approach that island. Either the tidal periods at that point were too irregular, or the beach was too shallow. At any rate, they feared to go there, although I, for my part, cannot understand why. However, I am writing all this down as I have found it recorded, and I praise the name of the Lord, omniscient and eternal, Who pre-arranges human discoveries according to His will, saying: "Through Me, the Lord, all is accomplished."

A fuller account of the newly-discovered country is contained in Joseph ha-Kohen's *Dibre ha-Yamim* (vol. ii, fol. 1,

a & b).<sup>3</sup> This work, which is a history of the world in the form of annals, written in 1553 and published at Sabbioneta (Fuerst, *supra*, p. 115) in 1554, has been partly translated into Latin (Louis Ferrand, Paris, 1670) and fully into English (C. H. Bialloblotzky, London, 1834-1836). An attempt is made here at giving a connected story of the discovery, as well as a description of the peculiarities of country and people.

There lived in Castile, Spain, a man by the name of Americo. He owned a large vessel, and was very fond of adventures, so he fitted out his ship and laid in a great supply of food in preparation for a long voyage upon strange seas. Meanwhile, there had gathered about him many adventurers who wished to share with him his nautical excitements and experiences. He thus got together a goodly crew and started out on his expedition.

Many a day had they traveled upon waters which had theretofore been undisturbed by oar or rudder, until they finally lost sight of the star that guides the mariners in their proper course. As a result, they were at the mercy of the sea, the vessel being driven on and tossed about by unknown wind and wave, and the pilots knew not where they were or whither they went. After thus aimlessly wandering for a long time, the food on ship gave out and starvation became imminent. The courage of the crew sank, and the men, amidst prayers to God, decided to return. They did not know that their commander, too, had lost his bearings, and could not find his way back, even if he wanted to return.

The condition of the crew grew worse and worse, and the struggles became so severe that a plan was being formulated to draw lots and whoever would draw the unlucky number should be killed, so that his flesh might save the rest of the crew from starvation. But while the disheartened and half-starved sailors were still debating about it, the captain descried a settlement in the distance, and called out: "Eureka! land, land!" An indescribable joy filled the hearts of the men, and the vessel was at once turned towards the land. When they descended from the ship, they found there a small settlement, but thinly populated. The inhabitants went stark naked, of which condition they were not in the least ashamed. The language of the sailors they did not com-

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Kayserling, *supra*; HARRISSE in "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," 1888, p. 136, and GOTTHEIL in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, pp. 129-137.



prehend, but they understood a little Arabic (Ishmaelitish). When the discoverers asked them for some food, they fetched some dry, flat cakes of uncertain color. That is their bread, and they prepare it from the roots of certain herbs that grow in their land. It resembles our "biscuit" of Piso, in Tuscany. The firearms of the Spaniards caused great wonder among the natives, especially the flash and the noise of the charge. They regarded the strangers as superhuman beings, and feared them accordingly. They took them to their homes, and exchanged gold and silver for knives and pistols, for they had never seen iron or copper in their country.

Having thus gained some knowledge of the New World they had found, the Spaniards loaded their vessel with provisions and valuables and returned to Spain. When they reached their native land, they offered joyful thanks and praises to God, and narrated to their eager and envious countrymen their struggles, adventures and achievements. From that time on many of the poorer class among the Spaniards undertook the journey to the new continent, the "golden land." But the voyagers did not all meet with the same success. Some of them, instead of reaping a rich harvest, found only thorns and thistles, perishing on their way of hunger and thirst and destitution. Others, however, reached their goal and returned home in the happy possession of great riches. In the course of time, as the Spanish expeditions to the New World became more numerous and more frequent, the Spaniards conquered and enslaved the natives whom they rendered tributary to themselves, a condition which has prevailed to this day. Not only the male population of the country, but the females, too, were pressed into service by the conquerors, to whom the native women served as cooks, housekeepers and bakers. The condition of the aborigines was, as a result of their enslavement, a very pitiable one, and there was no escape for them.

What is further known about that country is that it was found to be exceedingly large and blessed with abundance and plenty. The population consisted of perfect savages, without reason or understanding, who soon succumbed to the superior intelligence of the Spaniards. These, when their numbers had become considerable in the land, which was a true Paradise, like Egypt in ancient times, took possession of the country and settled there and named the different places after those in Spain. They taught the inhabitants the principles of law and justice as they themselves saw fit, and made them ardent adherents of the Spaniards' God



and King. By and by the natives adopted the customs of their conquerors before whose strength and bravery they stood in awe and terror, and whom they regarded as superhuman. What called forth their highest admiration, though, was the art of reading and writing. It seemed past wonderful to them that a human hand could transmit ideas to a small sheet of paper and thereby establish a mode of communication thousands of miles away. They looked upon such a possibility as more than human.

The name of the man who discovered the country was, as has already been stated, Americo, in whose honor the land was named "America." But originally the country was called "Peru" and "Cubucana." At any rate, the Spaniards have designated the land as the "New World" to this very day.

Later on, the Emperor, Charles, sent to America many of the Spanish grandees with a part of his army and navy, who usurped every inch of ground they set foot on. Fortune smiled upon them and the Spanish arms were everywhere victorious. The Emperor then appointed a Viceroy over the newly-conquered country. This Viceroy carried on warfare with the native rulers of neighboring countries, which he succeeded in conquering. In these, when the Spaniards came to take possession of them, they found large settlements, populated by intelligent and civilized persons. Unlike the people that were first found, the inhabitants of the latterly-conquered countries had a well-arranged code of laws very much like ours. But they were nevertheless idolators, worshipping Baal, and sacrificing their children to Moloch, and in these abominable practices they have persisted to the present time. There was further found in those countries a big river whose banks contained gold, silver and precious stones, the like of which was never seen in other lands. Also, spices of various kinds were exported from there, as well as cattle, beasts, fowls and fruits of whose existence we here had no idea. And the people there were correspondingly tall and strong, appearing like giants. Thus, when some of them were brought to Spain, in chains as prisoners, the Spaniards "were in their eyes as grasshoppers."

After writing his *Dibre ha-Yamim*, which, as can readily be seen from the quotation above, is not accurate, Joseph ha-Kohen became acquainted with *Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus* by Joan Boemus, and *La Historia General de las Indias* by Francisco Lopes de Gomara. From these he compiled,

in 1557, another work, *Mazzib Gebulot Ammim*, and a history of the conquest of Mexico, joined with a fuller and more accurate account of Columbus' discoveries. Of this work, which has never been published, four manuscripts are known, one in the possession of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, at Paris, and others in the library of Columbia University, New York, the Royal Library of Berlin and the Günsburg Library in St. Petersburg.

Another and later work by the same author, *Emek ha-Baka*, a martyrology, dealing with persecutions and oppressions of Jews in various countries and ages, written in 1563-1575 (ed. Letteris, Vienna, 1852, Cracow, 1895, p. 104) treats of America with special reference to Jewish history.

At that time [referring to the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal] the seafarers discovered a new island which they named St. Thomas. There were no inhabitants on that island. But there were numerous lizards, snakes, reptiles and serpents. Owing to this circumstance the Portuguese Government sent to this island insane persons and criminals, and, with these, Jewish children. The misery of the parents who saw their children snatched away from them by those heartless dogs (the Government's agents) can readily be imagined. It was pitiful, indeed, to hear the heart-rending cries of the bereaved mothers, and to see the wretched condition of the maltreated fathers who, in their despair, tore their beards.

Many of these unfortunates begged the King for permission to go along with their children, but the King turned a deaf ear to their entreaties. In one instance, a Jewish mother took her child in her arms and threw herself with it, into the sea, for instantaneous death seemed preferable to a life-long misery which the exile of the children meant to the parents. As for the children that were sent to St. Thomas, but very few of them survived, for many fell a prey to the snakes, while the rest perished of want and starvation.

Similarly writes also Solomon Ben Verga, a contemporary of Joseph ha-Kohen, in *Shebet Yehudah*, in which work are to be found important historical data concerning persecutions

and accusations of Jews, and a description of the experiences of our people in many lands.<sup>4</sup>

Unspeakable and indescribable are the persecutions of Jews in Lisbon. Worst among their sorrows and struggles was the cruel practice of the Portuguese to tear young boys away from their parents and to drag them to barren, miserable, uninhabited islands which the Portuguese call "Islas Perdidas." Whoever has not witnessed such a scene, when those tender and innocent youths were, by the order of the King, wrested from the arms of their weeping and wailing mothers and dragged to the ships, does not know the meaning of real grief and despair. And yet, there was no one to pity or console these poor unfortunates, nor to intercede for them.

In one instance, there was a woman whose six children had thus been snatched away from her. When this grief-stricken mother learned one day that the King was going to pass a certain avenue on his way to church, she waited and, as the carriage came up, she threw herself in front of the horses, praying that at least her youngest child be spared her. But the King paid no heed to her petition and prayers, and ordered his servants to remove her. As she persisted, the servants began to scold her, and the King said: "Never mind her, she is like the bitch whose whelps have been taken away."—Oh, it is indeed time the Lord would right the wrongs of Israel!

Some think that this terrible persecution was brought on by the fact that the Jews, upon their expulsion from Spain, promised the King of Portugal a certain sum of money for the permission to settle in his country, which sum they were later unable to pay.

But be that as it may, that persecution was one of the most barbarous and fiendish our people has ever endured. Many of the children died on ship on account of the change of diet and climate, while others were safely conveyed to the islands, there to be devoured by the crocodiles in the marshes and on the sea shore. But very few remained alive, and those were brought up like

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<sup>4</sup> *Shebet Yehudah*, Adrianople, 1550, Sabbioneta, 1554 (the title page incorrectly again gives Adrianople, 1550, as place and date of publication, *vide* Zedner, p. 725); ed. with Yabez type, Salonica, about 1561, of which one copy only is extant, and at present in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; best ed. by M. Wiener, with a German translation, Hanover, 1855-1856; chap. lvi, fol. 56b.

savages, so that in the course of time, wittingly or unwittingly, brothers came to marry their own sisters. There is a case on record of one of the young men returning and marrying his own mother, so great was the confusion caused by those inhuman persecutions.

The cause and effect of the persecutions in Portugal, of which Verga writes, are stated with still greater certainty, although with less reliability, by Gedaliah ibn Yahia, a descendant from a distinguished Spanish family, and a contemporary of Columbus.<sup>2</sup>

Enraged at the inability of the Jews to pay two ducats per person into the royal treasury, the King of Portugal had all Jewish children between the ages of three and ten captured and sent to a barren island, called San Thomas. His reason for doing so was, not only his hatred of the Jews, but also his desire to populate the island, which was filled with alligators and crocodiles. Many grown people were also sent to that island, but of a vast number about two hundred only escaped starvation and the venom of the serpents, so that the population of the island was no more than a handful, mostly widows and orphans.

The author then goes on to speak of the discovery of Columbus:

At the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, Christopher Columbus, a Spanish warrior and grandee, was sent by them to the Islands on the other side of the Ethiopian waters. He and his men discovered there many islands which they called the New World. Works on this subject contain the information that there are many Jews in the newly-discovered country.

Descriptions like those quoted above may sadden, but they will not surprise the reader of Jewish history and literature. What may, however, seem surprising to the reader is a statement I am about to cite from Azariah de' Rossi's *Meor 'Enaim*, Mantua, 1574; chaps. xi and xii, pp. 58a and 159b.

According to this great scholar, the rabbis of the Talmud already knew of the existence of a continent like America, while the Bible contains references to South-American Peru.

<sup>2</sup> *Sha'ishelet ha-Kabbalah*, Venice, 1587, 116 a & b. See *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, pp. 266, 267.

Although the sages of the Talmud held that the earth is flat, they knew, nonetheless, what has but recently been established by the Spanish navigators who discovered the New World on the Northern Hemisphere, namely, that there are people who walk with their feet turned toward ours. . . . King Solomon, in fact, knew of the existence of such a continent. . . . The term "Ophir" in the Bible is a reference to the land of Peru in South America. . . . Still more clearly and unmistakably is the Peru which the Spaniards discovered referred to under the name of Parwayim (II. Chronicles iii, 6).

Some of the early Hebrew writers were not satisfied with mere hearsay reports about the New World, but attempted to arrive at accurate knowledge, although they were not always successful in doing so.

Thus, David Gans in his *Zemah David*, Prague, 1592, tries to show that the discovery of America was not made in 1494 (*sic*) by Columbus, as some historians of the time had it, but in 1533 by Amerigo. *Zemah David*, which is an historical work in three parts, the third part being a later addition in 1692, either by David ben Moses or Rheindorf, or by David Tevle Schiff, contains two passages relative to the subject. In the first, under the year 1494, he simply quotes Reutel who places the discovery of America in the year 1494.

In the year 1494, there lived in Genoa a man, named Columbus. Being a thinker and a scholar, he convinced King Ferdinand of Naples that there must be another continent on the other side of the great Ocean, owing to the fact that there are steady winds blowing from West to East on the Ocean. As a result, the King, at his own expense, sent an expedition which discovered the New World, and named it *nuovo mundo*. This, according to Henricus Reutel (p. 257), took place in the year 1494 C. E. (*vide infra*, under the year 1533).

Further on in the work, under the year 1533, Gans returns to the subject for the purpose of ascertaining the right date, and the real discoverer, but with poor success:

There was once a man, named Americo. Being a great warrior and a sailor, he gathered about him adventurers with whom he



took ship for conquests in unknown parts. The sea was strong and stormy and the navigators were carried so far from land that they could no longer distinguish the direction of the North Pole. After many days, they discovered a new continent which they named after the discoverer, America. This happened in the year 1533 C. E., but according to Joseph Hakohen it occurred in 1520 C. E., while Henricus Reutel maintains that the discovery took place in 1494 C. E. and asserts that the name of the discoverer was Columbus, who is mentioned above, under the year 1494.

After the discovery, the King, Charles of Spain, sent a fleet to America and conquered a large part of that country, which he named *Hispania Nueva*, i. e. New Spain. Likewise the King of France conquered a part of the land and called it New France.

According to explorers who are prominent in the science of cosmography, this New World is larger than all Christian Kingdoms of our time, much larger than Europe, and is situated on the other side of the globe, beneath us. (Of this point I will treat elsewhere.) Azariah de' Rossi, on the other hand, adduces proof in his work *Meor Enayim*, chap. i, that the New World is the same as the Biblical Ophir, whither (according to I Kings ix and II Chronicles viii) King Solomon used to send his fleet every three years.

David Gans was, however, not permanently misled, for in his later work *Nehmad we-Naim*, in which he deals with astronomy and mathematical geography, written in 1613 and published at Jessnitz, in 1743, chap. iii, secs. 73-80, he gives the correct name and date of the discoverer and the discovery. There he gives also a detailed description of both North and South America,

because it is both an important and interesting subject, and because it is more necessary to have a knowledge of the wonderful planet we inhabit than to know something about the uninhabited planets far above us in the skies.

Here Gans also defends the theory advanced by Azariah de' Rossi, that the Biblical Ophir is identical with Peru and goes

even so far as to outline the exact course King Solomon's ships are likely to have taken on their way to that "golden land." <sup>6</sup>

Valuable as the early historical records which were written as histories may be, still more valuable are the works in which no attempt was made to write history, but in which, nevertheless, a vast amount of historical data is contained. To find such data, one must turn to the comparatively little-known responsa literature. The following responsum, which I quote from *Torat Hayyim*, by Rabbi Hayyim Sabbathai of Salonica, Salonica, 1651, is an illustration in point. In this work of Responsa, which G. A. Kohut mentions as being "exceedingly rare," <sup>7</sup> is contained a responsum, vol. iii, resp. iii, the nature of which shows conclusively that as early as 1636, according to Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, vol. viii, p. 266, not as J. D. Eisenstein thinks, in 1642-1646, <sup>8</sup> when the author received it, Brazil had a considerable number of Jews and an established congregation. For it stands to reason that neither an individual Jew, nor a community of Neo-Christians would have been likely to be troubled by the legal difficulty referred to therein. <sup>9</sup>

That the Jews of Brazil soon had other and far graver difficulties to solve than the question of reciting a certain prayer out of the prescribed season, can be seen from a graphic description of the Portuguese Inquisition and its persecutions in

<sup>6</sup> The works of Farissol, Joseph ha-Kohen and Gans are the subject of an article by Alexander Kohut in *The Menorah*, vol. xiii, pp. 403-419. I am told by my friend, A. S. Freidus, of the New York Public Library, to whom I am indebted for many valuable suggestions, that George Alexander Kohut, the son of Alexander Kohut, has also been engaged for a number of years in gathering material on the subject.

<sup>7</sup> G. A. Kohut, in "Early Jewish Literature in America," *Publications*, No. 3, p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> "Casuistic Literature in America," *Publications*, No. 12, p. 140, where other responsa are also dealt with.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eisenstein, *supra*, where the responsum is translated.

Brazil, contained in Isaac Aboab's preface to his translation of Abraham Herrera's work *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (The Gate of Heaven), published at Amsterdam in 1655. The author, called Aboab III, had been rabbi at Amsterdam from 1626 to 1642, when he emigrated to Brazil, in answer to a call of the community of Pernambuco, remaining there until 1654, when the Jews were expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese, and he returned, in the company of a number of co-religionists, to Amsterdam, again taking up the spiritual leadership of the Jewish community in that city.

In his preface to his translation of the above-named work by Herrera, who wrote in Spanish, as according to his own admission, he was not able to write Hebrew, Aboab describes the scenes he had witnessed in Brazil in the following manner :

God was very merciful to us in delivering us from the fiery furnace of Brazil, that veritable Egypt, where our enemy rendered us a curse and a by-word to our surroundings, where the sword raged without and terror within. Among the indescribable persecutions that our nation had to endure throughout the centuries, there was none more terrible than that which we suffered in Brazil. The enemy was bent on crushing and exterminating us. Some were captured, others killed, and many died of want and starvation. The few of us who survived subsisted upon a mere crust of dry bread, while our oppressors lived off the fat of the land. After a time, even the crust of bread gave out for us and we were left utterly destitute. There was one thing, however, of which the enemy could not rob us, the pure faith of our fathers. We, therefore, prayed to God, and our prayers were answered, for we were finally expelled, and, after many harrowing experiences, without clothes or provisions, we found our way to this hospitable city where we have been free to enjoy life and to engage in the study of the Torah, for which I have ever longed.

A specific case of the nefarious activities of the Inquisition above described by Aboab, may be found in *Sharshot Gablut* by Solomon de Oliveyra, published as a supplement to *Ayyelet Ahabim* in Amsterdam, 1665. A eulogy is here contained (p.

52b) entitled, "The Men of Faith Are the World's Victors," in honor of Isaac de Castro Tartas, a Marrano, who

was discovered in San Salvador, arrested by the Inquisition and sent to Lisbon, where, at the age of twenty-four, he died a martyr's death at the stake, December 15, 1647.

Not only facts, however, but also fancies concerning America and her people found their way into early Hebrew literature. For this reason, if any one expected to find a Hebrew translation of Manasseh ben Israel's *Mikweh Yisrael* (Hope of Israel), in which the author endeavors to trace the Lost Tribes to America, one would not be disappointed; for, this ingenious discovery of the Ten Tribes was rendered into Hebrew by Eliakim ben Jacob in 1697, and printed in Amsterdam, 1698, chaps. iv, v, x, xiii, xv, xvi ff.

The danger and far-reaching results of an historical error are only too well known. Centuries of investigation and thought have so far been powerless to correct the historic falsehood of the crucifixion story. In spite of the fact that eminent scholars and thinkers have time and again proved conclusively that the account given in the New Testament of the incident cannot be true, the story is still being taught as history, and young and old keep on repeating and perpetuating the vicious lie. The same principle, though here it was harmless, may be noticed in the early writings of Hebrew historians. It has been seen how Gans, in an effort to record the discovery of America accurately, strayed far from the world of fact and wandered in the world of fancy. A short time afterward Jechiel Heilprin in his *Seder Haddorot*,<sup>10</sup> which is a chronological history from the creation of the world to his own time, 1667, accepts the facts recorded in the *Zemah David* and copies the presentation of Gans without the slightest denial or doubt.

When Aboab wrote that those who found in Amsterdam a haven of refuge from the persecutions in Brazil devoted them-

<sup>10</sup> Karlsruhe, 1769, p. 175.

selves to the promotion of the study and knowledge of the Torah he stated a literal truth. It seems that a number of these Brazilian Jews became printers, publishers and typesetters of Biblical works. In some instances these men themselves indicate in a way their past history. Such reference is contained in the commentary on the Book of Exodus by Isaac Halevi, Amsterdam, 1670-1682 (a very rare book, now in the Deinard collection of the Congressional Library at Washington), at the end of which appears the following inscription:

The type has been arranged by me, Jacob the son of the great scholar Moses Raphael de Cordova, of blessed memory, former resident of Brazil. מִקְרָא בְּרַאזִיל.<sup>11</sup>

So also in the *Shir Hillelim* which is a supplement to *Migdal David* by David ben Loeb, Amsterdam, 1680, the typesetter signs his name:

Jacob Hayyim the son of Moses Raphael de Cordova, of Brazil. The same signature appears also at the end of *Ayyelet Ahabim* by Solomon de Oliveyra, Amsterdam, 1655. But here the words "of Brazil" are omitted, while Isaac Aboab's signature is attached to a recommendation of David ben Joseph Pardo's small code, *Shulhan Tahor*, Amsterdam, 1686.

It is not to be supposed, however, that upon American soil the Jewish scholar had no leisure or no inclination for studying and writing. Abraham Gabbai Izidoro, for instance, rabbi of Surinam and Barbados, left a work *Yad Abraham*, Amsterdam, 1758, to which Isaac Hayyim Abendana de Brito wrote the following introduction:

Providence always arranges that a good act be performed by the proper person. My dear friend, the respected scholar and leader of our community, Moses Eluarish, called upon me to obtain my

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, Col. 2866, where some other works are enumerated with Jacob's signature, and where different publishing houses are named in which he was employed as typesetter between the years 1662 and 1703.



indorsement and recommendation of a very worthy work by a most learned and prominent scholar, the late Rabbi Abraham Gabbai Izidoro. That author had been leader in the city of Surinam (may the Lord preserve it!). After staying there a long time, he removed to the island of Barbados where his depth of thought and learning made it possible for him to spread the truths of Judaism. Having grown very old and too feeble to perform the many and difficult functions incident to his office there, he sailed to London where he spent a few years in retirement. For, after a brief illness, he passed into the higher and brighter life of the heavenly academy to reap the reward stored up for the righteous.

Izidoro has, however, left behind him the fruit of his labors. He left a work *Minian Mizwot* which, coming as it does, from the pen of a fluent and original writer like Abraham Gabbai, who was prominent also as a poet, will indeed perpetuate the author's name. The work is to be published by the author's good and pious widow who thus desires to honor the memory of her beloved husband.

As the good woman is going to considerable expense in order to have the present work published, I wish to point out, in recommending the book, that it would be a positive wrong if anyone were to republish it during the next ten years without the permission of the author's widow. May the Lord's blessing be with those who will heed this warning.

These are the words of the rabbi of the Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam, this twenty-seventh day of Tishri, 5518.

Isaac Hayyim Abendana de Brito!

If Azariah de' Rossi's statement that there are some Biblical passages which refer to America appears strange to us, it certainly does not seem to have had that effect upon our brethren of the eighteenth century. In *Sheerit Yisrael* (also called *Keter Malkut*), by Menahem Mann ben Salomon Halevi, whose family name, according to Gabriel Polak, was Amelander, this name having been discovered by Polak upon the tombstone of Menahem Mann's daughter in the cemetery of the Jewish community of Amsterdam, situated in the village of Muiderberg,<sup>12</sup> the author goes so far even as to maintain that one of Isaiah's prophecies had reference to America, and that already

<sup>12</sup> *Tawe Hayyim le-Zikron Metim*, Amsterdam, 1861; reprinted from *ha-Maggid*, vol. v (1861), Nos. 25, 26.

in Isaiah's time many Jews lived in America. He asserts, *Keter Malkut*, Amsterdam, 1771, chap. 35, p. 145, that the prophecy of Isaiah (xi, 11)

for the Lord will redeem the remnant of his people from Assyria, etc., and from the islands of the sea

refers to the islands of the the western part of the world—America, which constitutes the western hemisphere, and quotes passages from the Scriptures to show that there were Jews settled in America in ancient times.

This interpretation of the passage in Isaiah is made possible by the fact that the term *yam* in Hebrew may mean sea or west. Hence the translation of the verse according to his interpretation would be:

For the Lord will redeem the remnant of his people from Ashur . . . and from the islands of the West.

Similarly a Hebrew "Book of Prayers for Dew and Rain" by Raphael Samuel Mendes de Sola, published at Amsterdam, 1772, contains some important data for the history of the Jewish community in Curaçao. This prayer-book, which receives no mention on the part of any bibliographer, was recently purchased by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America at a book-sale in Amsterdam.

The preface by Rabbi Solomon Shalom tells the history, wholly unknown to Hebrew bibliography, of the little book:

A Book of Prayers for Dew and Rain, with repetitive prayers [i. e. prayers to be read by the hazan when he repeats the Eighteen Benedictions in public worship], and twenty-four benedictions to be recited at a fast-day observed in case of drought. These prayers were composed by the famous Rabbi Raphael Samuel Mendes de Sola, minister of the congregation Mikveh Israel, in Curaçao, the Crown of the Islands. New prayers have also been added by Rabbi Jacob Lopes de Fonseca, minister of the above-named congregation. By permission of Messers. Abraham de David Jesurun, Isaac de Isaac de Morgena, and Abraham de David da Costa Andradi Gabbai, the trustees of the above-mentioned congregation, this book is now published at Amsterdam, in the year 5532 [1772].

The prayer-book contains also an endorsement signed by David Jesurun, and David Espinoza Catilo, who were brothers-in-law and very prominent in the affairs of the Curaçao community.

Geographical references to America are not as numerous as those of an historical character. Yet geographical data can be found here and there. In the following quotation from *Gib'at Shaul*, which contains an eulogy on Saul Halevi, Rabbi of the Hague, by Isaac Terkheim, Amsterdam, 1786, p. 11, reference is made to the geographical location of the city of Philadelphia:

All men, be they adherents of religion or of science, have long ago come to the conclusion that God is omnipotent and can accomplish two ends by one object. Thus, it is possible for God, we can readily understand, to arrange it so that while it is morning in the East Indian city of Surafe, it should be evening in the American city of Philadelphia.<sup>13</sup>

The first mention of America in a Hebrew periodical is to be found in *Hameassef*, Koenigsberg, vol. v, p. 370, 1788, where the following brief account of the history and development of the New World is given:

The fourth quarter of the globe constitutes America which was discovered three hundred years ago by the famous Columbus. Europeans conquered that continent and gathered there great wealth. Their faith also has gained a stronghold there.

America is situated in the Western part of the world, extending from the north pole close to the south pole. But it is not yet entirely explored in all its parts. Its climate is warm and very healthful. It treasures much gold, silver, and a plenty of precious stones.

At a time when American Jewry is exerting its utmost influence in an endeavor to better the condition of European Jews, at a time, too, when the hope of Jew and Judaism centers

<sup>13</sup> Other geographical references are contained in I. B. Gordon's *Shebile Olam Hadash*, Warsaw, 1870, pp. 13-134; *Mehekere Arez ha-Shalom*, Wilna, 1876, pp. 32-35.

largely in America, it should be interesting to learn that the progress of the American Jew was already watched closely by European Governments in the eighteenth century. Thus, when the Dutch Parliament at the Hague, in 1796, deliberated upon the advisability of granting full emancipation to the Jews of Holland, both the advocates and the opponents of the measure drew their proofs from the status of the Jew in America. The arguments which were then advanced, and the proofs adduced on both sides, are accurately recorded by Hirsch of Ilfeld, in *Dibre N'gidim*, Amsterdam, 1799, pp. 18 and 26. Hahn argued in favor of the measure, Aug. 1, 1796:

As we know, the Jewish population of this country does not exceed fifty thousand souls. Many of them are unable to comprehend the benefits of freedom. But some of them are intelligent enough to cherish liberty, and these constitute a very ethical and proper element of our population.

Consider, my lords, and you people of Batavia! Consider the justice of the thing, and the good that will come to us, and our nation if we emancipate the Jews. I need not take up your time in trying to prove my assertions. It is well known how the emancipation of the Jews in France and North America has contributed to the progress and prosperity of those countries. . . . As to the apprehension of some that the Jews would flock to our country in large numbers if they were granted citizenship, the fear is groundless. Such an argument can be advanced only by persons who would like to see the Jew remain in his past state of subjugation. In reality, however, there is no basis for such an assumption. North America and France might well serve as an example. The Jewish emancipation there has caused no large influx of Jews to those countries.

Lublinck de Young opposed the measure, Aug. 22, 1796:

In answer to the speaker who quoted the Jewish emancipation in America and France as evidence in favor of the Jews, I will simply say this: The present state of affairs in France makes it impossible for us to investigate the matter thoroughly, and to get authentic information about the condition of the Jews there. Still less is it possible for us to gain a true knowledge concerning the Jews of North America; whether they have been conducting them-

selves properly, whether they have really contributed to the prosperity of their fellow citizens, or whether they have taken an active interest in the government of the country. In all these matters, I say, we are but too little informed to judge clearly.

On the other hand, I should like to call your attention to a famous and authentic document which was sent from the city of New York in September, 1793. In this document it is stated that all the Jews of North America number about five hundred. Of these, two hundred and fifty reside in New York City. But there are very few, indeed, who occupy official positions in the Government. In fact, one Jew was chosen to fill the office of, what they call, alderman, and he declined to serve.

A special work on the discovery of America appeared at Altona, in 1807, by Moses ben Mendel Frankfurt. The work, which was to be published in several volumes, but of which only one volume appeared, bears the title *M'ziat Arez ha-Hadashah*, and is merely a translation of Campe's "Discovery of the New World," which differs only in details from other works on the subject, as in the experiences of Columbus, both before and after the discovery. It is interesting to know, however, that Moses Frankfurt translated the work into Hebrew upon the urgent request of the author himself.

The same work was translated sixteen years later also by Mordecai Aaron Guenzburg under the title *Gelot ha-Arez ha-Hadashah*, Wilna, 1823. The book itself, is not much more than a translation from the German, and I shall, therefore, quote only the introduction to the work by Rabbi Abraham Abele, of Wilna, as well as the preface of the translator. Rabbi Abele's introduction reads thus:

For ages a number of large and populated countries of the earth were unknown and hidden from us. Today we have a clear knowledge of these, and through the discovery of them, we have become acquainted with a fact which to the ancients would have seemed incredible, namely, that there are people living beneath and opposite us on the other side of the globe. From this fact can be seen the endlessness and the incomprehensible wonderfulness of God's works, and the unlimited power of His creation in the heavens above, and on the earth beneath.



More to the point, however, is the translator's preface:

The benefits mankind has derived from the discovery of the New World are great and many. Through it commerce has been developed to an exceedingly high degree. From this new continent were introduced into other countries, the potato which now serves as a food for thousands of the world's poor and needy, the china bark, which every year restores health to millions of the suffering sick, and innumerable other things of a useful and helpful character. . . .

Also, the natural and applied sciences have greatly profited by the discovery of America. It has thrown a new light upon astronomy, geography and natural history. It was through the extended travels and expeditions of famous explorers in that country that we have gained so much additional knowledge of natural science and that we have been able to carry our scientific knowledge to the high point of perfection of the present time.

A fuller, more accurate and more interesting account of America, with special reference to the Jews, is found in David Ottensoser's *Geschichte der Jehudim*, a history of the Jews, in the German language, but in Hebrew characters, Fuerth, 1821, p. 123 ff.

It is not certain when the Jews first came to America. It appears, however, that a few of those who were expelled from Spain by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, found their way to the Spanish colonies.

The inhabitants of the French colonies imitated the hostile attitude to the Jews that was then prevalent in their mother country. In the first paragraph of the edict of 5365 (1605) the French officials in the American colonies were directed to expel the Jews, and to confiscate all Jewish property if the owners did not leave the colonies within three months.

The history of the Jews in Surinam, where they had immigrated from Holland, has been written by a society of Portuguese Jews who lived in that country. In that history it is stated that in the year 5399 [1639] a Portuguese Jew, named David Nassi, a native of Brazil, was given permission by the West-India Company in Holland to found a Jewish colony upon the island Cayenne. The Jewish settlers in that colony were to enjoy the full rights, religious and civil, of citizens, provided the same rights would be

granted also to non-Jews who wished to live among them. In 5424 [1664] the island fell into the hands of the French, and Nassi, together with the other Jewish colonists, went to Surinam, which was then an English possession. Here, they were not only given unrestricted religious and civil liberty, but they were also authorized to erect a courthouse of their own for the purpose of trying civil cases, involving money not to exceed a certain fixed sum, by the leaders of their own community. All these rights and privileges were confirmed by the Dutch in 5427 [1667] when they took possession of Surinam.

Thus assured of their freedom, the Jews of Surinam could build synagogues and practice their religion undisturbed. Their knowledge of languages and their connections with the Jewish inhabitants of the Spanish and other colonies contributed greatly to the expansion of commerce and to the wealth and prosperity of the island. There is a considerable number of Jews in Surinam to-day, and, although they are not eligible to official positions, they serve in the militia, and have, on many occasions proved their valor as soldiers and their value as subjects. Unlike their brethren in other countries, they are not taxed exorbitantly nor unjustly and have the right to acquire property which is fully protected by the government in the same measure as the property of other citizens is protected.

The Jewish inhabitants of Jamaica are worthy people who strive to earn an honest livelihood and who take care of their own poor from a fund which they have for that purpose. While, therefore, there are no Jewish paupers there, wealthy Jewish planters and merchants are numerous. In addition to the cause of charity, the Jamaica Jews have also the cause of religion at heart, and, since their public worship is not interfered with, they have several synagogues.

In New England the Jews were never numerous. Among those, however, who did settle there in Colonial times, some occupied positions of great respectability.

Shortly before the Revolution the late President [Ezra] Stiles made the acquaintance of Rabbi Hayyim Carregal, a native of Hebron, Palestine, and educated at Jerusalem, who had recently arrived in the British Colonies.<sup>14</sup> This acquaintance, which originated in a chance meeting in the synagogue of Rhode Island

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Publications*, No. 3, pp. 122-125; No. 6, p. 79; No. 8, pp. 119-126; G. A. Kohut, "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," Index, pp. 145-146.

(Newport) soon ripened into friendship. For Rabbi Hayyim had traveled much, having visited every city in the Orient and many places in Europe and Asia, and, being a man of great learning and keen observation, his conversation was most interesting and instructive. During Carregal's sojourn in Rhode Island, he and Stiles were almost inseparable, studying together and conversing about the Bible, the Hebrew language, the past and present history, as well as the customs and manners of the Jews. Dr. Stiles showed great interest in these subjects and learned much from his Jewish friend. After they separated, they kept up a steady correspondence in the Hebrew language.

In regard to the other communities in the United States of North America, Rabbi Gershom Seixas, of New York, furnishes the following information:

There are about fifty Jewish families in New York. The heads of these families, together with some twenty to thirty unmarried men, constitute the membership of the Congregation Shearith Israel which has a charter from the Government. The congregation owns a synagogue and uses the same ritual as that which is used by the Portuguese Jews of Europe. Public worship is, therefore, conducted in Hebrew. There were Jews in New York when the city still belonged to the Dutch, but the records which are in the archives of the Congregation do not extend back any further than about one hundred and fifty years. Of the Jews who live in New York, some are of Portuguese parentage, others of German extraction, and still others of Dutch descent. A few there are also who settled in the city more recently, after New York had become an English colony. When New York was in the possession of the Dutch, the Jews had the right to acquire and own property, and they enjoyed this right also under the English Government. During the reign of Queen Anne, several Jews who had come to London from France were even encouraged by the English Government to emigrate and settle in North America.

In the city of Philadelphia there are about thirty Jewish families and two synagogues, a Portuguese and a German. But neither the Portuguese nor the German Jews are organized in the form of a congregation. The number of Jews in the whole state of Pennsylvania does not exceed one hundred, and all of them attend divine service at Philadelphia.

In Charleston, South Carolina, on the other hand, there is a large Jewish congregation which worships in a beautiful syna-

gogue, using the Portuguese ritual. The Jews of that city have also a number of well-endowed charitable institutions.

In order to convey a clearer conception of the history of the Jews in South Carolina, I shall quote from a letter written in 5571 [1811] by Mr. Philip Cohen, a wealthy merchant, and one of the leading members of the Charleston congregation, which letter reads as follows:

The first immigration of Jews to Charleston took place long before the American Revolution. Since then the Jews have increased steadily, both in wealth and in population, the latter being due to marriage, as well as to newcomers from Europe. The present Jewish population of the State is about one thousand, of which number six or seven hundred reside in Charleston. These are, for the most part, of German, English and Portuguese descent. The religious ceremonies, customs and festivals are observed very strictly by the Jews of Charleston. The divine services are always well attended, the large synagogue often being taxed to its fullest capacity. The Reverend Carvalho, formerly Professor of Hebrew at the New York College, is at present the officiating minister of the congregation. The Jews of Charleston enjoy the same educational advantages as the other citizens, and have a number of talented and learned men among them. All the Jewish children, even those who later take up some trade, receive a splendid education. The city has now a high school in which French, Italian, Latin, Greek and other subjects are taught. In the same school, Rabbi Carvalho is instructor of Hebrew and Spanish.

In dress and manner the Jews of Charleston do not differ from the other citizens. Open-hearted and hospitable, like all Carolinians, the Jews combine great business ability with persevering labor. Their spirit of enterprise and their good judgment are so well and generally recognized, that several have been chosen to official positions. There has even been a Jewish Governor in that State, and he indeed performed the duties of his office with honor and credit to himself and to those in his charge.

The Jewish institutions of Charleston reflect much credit upon the Jews of that city. These institutions are of a benevolent character. Thus, there are, besides the beautiful synagogue, a society for the aid of strangers, an association whose task is the caring for the sick and needy, and a free burial association. The latest institution is an orphans' home, maintained from a large and constantly increasing fund, where the children receive the best of care and very efficient instruction in the duties of citizenship.

The Jewish population of the whole State of Virginia is not over one hundred. Of this number, about thirty families reside in Richmond, where a synagogue is now being erected. The other Jewish families are scattered all over the State. There are also a few Jewish families in Savannah, Georgia, but they have neither a congregation nor a synagogue. At certain times they gather in some residence and hold services.

The United States of North America, I may say in conclusion, is perhaps the only country in which the Jews have never suffered any persecution. On the contrary, as Rabbi Gershom Seixas remarks, they received every encouragement and enjoyed every right of citizenship in this land. With the exception of Massachusetts, the Jews are everywhere in the Union eligible to all offices, and in the Southern States many Jews actually occupy official positions. As a rule the American Jews follow mercantile pursuits, many of them being very prominent in American commerce.

At the beginning of the last century the Jews of Surinam seem to have occupied a position similar in importance to that which we occupy in the United States to-day, when high officials attend Jewish celebrations. At least, so it would seem if we might judge from a collection (in MS. dated 1822) of prayers, psalms and verses, among them an ingenuous acrostic on Abraham de Veer (*cf. Publications*, No. 3, p. 130), the title-page of which bears the following superscription :

A Collection of Songs of Praise and Thanksgiving, composed by Uri Heilbron,  $\text{צ"ו}$  of this congregation, in honor of Abraham de Veer, Governor-General of the Surinam Colony, on the occasion of his attendance at the dedication of our new Synagogue Neweh Shalom, 5583 [Dec. 23, 1822]. This congregation was founded in the year 5553 [1793], through the efforts of Tobias Tall, a young gentleman who is an ardent lover of the Hebrew language.

The subjects which particularly attracted the attention of Hebrew writers were of two kinds: American activities in which Jews were concerned, and Jewish activities in America. To the latter class belongs an article in the Hebrew periodical *Bikkure ha-Ittim*, Vienna, 1826, vol. vii, pp. 45-49, in



which Judah ben Jonah Itlas describes Mordecai Manuel Noah's project to establish a Jewish colony on Grand Island.

The geographical location of America at times gave rise also to very strange legal difficulties. Thus Israel ben Gedaliah Luepschuetz, in his commentary on the Mishnah *Tiferet Yisrael*, Hanover, 1830, *Berakot*, chap. i, p. 4, writes as follows:

As a matter of fact, it seems hard to decide in the case of a Jew who is engaged in a whaling expedition and comes near the north pole, where for several months during the summer there is continuous day. The question arises then as to when such a man is to offer his morning and evening prayers, and when he is to observe the Sabbath. For, even if he should be able to calculate the days, although there is no sunset or sunrise, he would still be unable to tell the exact time of prayer, or the beginning and end of the Sabbath. Furthermore, is one in such a place, which is just as near America as it is to Europe, to be guided by European or American calculation? As we know, these two continents are antipodal to each other. Friday evening in Europe, is therefore, Friday morning in America, while Saturday morning in America, is already Saturday evening in Europe. When, then, is he to commence and leave off his Sabbath observance?

The text of a Thanksgiving service held annually in the Congregation Mekabetz Nidhe Yisrael of Barbados was published in London in 1831. The reason and purpose of the service as given by David Meldola, the Haham of the Portuguese synagogue in London, the author of the service, contains considerable historical value. Here is a copy of the title page:

A Service of Praise and Thanksgiving, to be recited annually by the Congregation Mekabetz Nidhe Yisrael of the Island Barbados, extolling the name of God who saved the Jews during the recent dreadful and devastating storm. Arranged by David, the son of Raphael, Meldola, this second day of Ellul, 5591.

One might suppose that the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition and the cruelties of the Spanish expulsion had obliterated the memory of all other misery and sufferings of the Jews at the close of the fifteenth century. Such was not at all

the case, however. Many Hebrew writers place the exile of Jewish children to America on a level with the hell-fires of the Inquisition, and the heart-rending scenes of the expulsion from Spain. Thus, Samuel Loeb Goldenberg writes in the Hebrew periodical *Kerem Hemed*, Prague, 1841, vol. v, p. 160:

The influence our faith exercised over our Sephardic brethren was tremendous. The expulsion from Spain took place in 1492, and from Portugal in 1494. Those who still remained on the Portuguese soil until 1495 had all their children under fourteen years of age forcibly baptised and sent to the newly-discovered islands in America.

In spite of all the cruelties and persecutions, however, there remained many who practiced their Judaism secretly until 1506, when, upon the slightest pretext, such a dreadful massacre took place that it was thought there was no longer a single Jewish person alive in the Spanish and Portuguese lands. But even then many escaped and remained loyal and faithful Jews in secret.

The interest which European Jews showed in their American brethren was not all one-sided. The American Jew was quite as much informed about the activities and experiences of his European brethren, as was the European Jew about those of his American brethren. This can be seen from the fact that when H. Edelman was about to publish his *Gedulath Shaul*, a biography of the legendary King of Poland, Saul Wahl, he received a letter from a resident of New Orleans, and a descendant of Wahl's family.<sup>15</sup> The letter closes with these lines:

Accept, please, the thanks and appreciation of a friend about three thousand miles away, in the city of New Orleans, in the Southern part of America.

With kindest greetings, I beg to remain,

Yours ever sincerely,

The founder of the house of Rubinstein in this country, a native of Harodno, in Lithuania.

Monday, the fourth day of Chanucah, 5614 [1854].

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<sup>15</sup> *Gedulath Shaul*, London, 1854, pp. 8-12.

A still clearer illustration of the community of interest which has always existed between American Jews and Jews in other lands is to be found in *Megillath Damesek*, Vienna, 1865, in which work, chap. iv, pp. 20-26, a European writer, Feivel Goldstoft, accurately and minutely describes the activities of American Jews in behalf of the Jews of Damascus, saying:

It is very important to know what the American people have done to express their feelings in this matter.

Another illustration of the same kind is contained in an article by Aaron Judah Loeb Horowitz on "Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, American Consul at the Court of King Charles of Roumania," in the Hebrew periodical *ha-Karmel*, Wilna, 1871, vol. i, pp. 11-16; also in *Geliloth ha-Arez* by Hillel Kahane, Bukarest, 1880, p. 18, where an appreciative account is given of the activities of the American consul in behalf of the Hebrew Institute at Batushan. In both of these instances, therefore, European Jews write about the work of an American Jew in the interest of his European brethren.

In *Matte Moshe* by Moses ben Aaron, published posthumously at Jerusalem in 1878 by Jacob Elijah, reference is made to America, both on the title page and in the introduction.

#### TITLE-PAGE.

This work contains the thoughts and truths of Rabbi Moses, the son of Rabbi Aaron, the author of *Pardes Hakmah*, and *Pardes Binah*. The author had at first been Rabbi at Mir, Russia, and later in Zelva, from which place he was called to the pulpit of Ratzka, in Poland. Later on, he received a call from the leaders of the Jewish congregation in America, where he went and officiated as rabbi until he died. May his soul rest peacefully in Paradise, and may his memory be perpetuated on earth.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Here are presented the first fruits of a noble scholar who had for a number of years been rabbi in the town of Mir and then officiated in the same capacity at Zelva. From there he was called to Ratzka. When he had advanced in years he was invited by the learned rabbis and leaders of America to come to that country.

There he was chief rabbi of many cities and states, teaching the people the ways, or rather the laws, of righteousness, justice and culture, feeding them on the sweet and luscious fruits from his "Gardens of Wisdom and Knowledge," and thereby confirming them in the fear of God and the service of man. . . .

When he had grown old, he felt dissatisfied at living in a strange land, and so he and his good wife decided to leave America for Palestine. But while on their way, upon reaching the city of Chicago, the learned rabbi fell sick and died, on the 25th of Ellul, 5635 [1875].

An interesting work by Aaron Judah Horowitz (Berlin, 1874) treats of Roumania and America. In this work the author describes his travels in Roumania and contrasts with the conditions he found there, the conditions in America. In condensed form the author presents the history and geography of the United States, devoting one chapter also to the Jews in America (pp. 41-48). From this chapter, I quote:

Judaism in the United States is heterogeneous in form, but homogeneous in principle. Although different in many respects, the various divisions and organizations are united in their love and loyalty for their faith. They always mean it well, although they do not always act wisely.

Like the rest of the population, the Jews in America have come from different countries, and, for that reason, differ in their tastes and habits, just as the Spaniard differs from the Italian or the Pole, despite the fact that all three of these belong to the same religious denomination. As a matter of fact, we cannot expect perfect uniformity among persons who were born and raised under different surroundings, under different customs, and under a different mode of living. We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that, while they agree in religious principles, they disagree in religious forms. In order, however, to worship according to their tastes and preferences, those who have come from the same country, as a rule, unite and form a society or congregation and build a synagogue for themselves. Thus, the Bavarian Jews have their own congregations and synagogues, which usually serve as places of worship also for other Germans; Bohemians, of whom there is a large number in this country, and Austrians have congregations and synagogues in common; Dutch and English Jews worship together. In the synagogues of the Russo-Polish congrega-

tions the study of the Bible and Talmud is carried on every morning and evening. The larger congregations among these maintain also a free school for children, where instruction is given several times a week in the Hebrew language, in translation of the Bible and the prayer book, as well as in Jewish history. Every congregation has not only its own synagogue, but also its own cemetery. The management of a congregation is left to a few members who constitute the board of trustees. These trustees, who are elected every year, draw up the constitution and by-laws for the congregation and have them recorded, so that the transactions of the congregation may be recognized by law. Every congregation is autonomous and independent of every other congregation.

Each congregation chooses its own rabbi and pays him a stipulated salary. This is the reason why there are a number of rabbis in every large American city. In this free land there is no office like that of the European district rabbi or the Palestinian *Hakam Bashi*, but every rabbi is supreme authority in his own congregation, the orthodox in the orthodox congregation and the reform in the reform congregation. Most of the rabbis preach in German, except those of the Polish congregations, who are, as a rule, called from Russia, and preach in Yiddish. English preachers are very scarce, and command a high salary. All the rabbis are foreigners, although the young generation does not care to listen to foreigners. But American-born young men do not care to enter the rabbinate. Even the sons of the rabbis do not follow the profession of their fathers. Among all the rabbis' sons I know of only two who have chosen that calling, the son of Rabbi Adler of New York, and the son of Rabbi Hirsch of Philadelphia. The latter is at present studying at the Berlin *Hochschule*.

The rabbi is elected for a definite period, and, after his term expires, if the members of his congregation are not pleased with his sermons or with his conduct, he is dismissed and another is called in his place. In most congregations the pulpit candidate is never asked whether he studied in any yeshibah or college, nor whether he is ordained or has a degree, as is done by congregations in Germany. All that is required here is to deliver sermons that will please the people. Anyone who can do this is called rabbi and doctor. For this reason, rabbis and doctors are very plentiful in America.

It would indeed seem strange, were we not to find also some adverse criticisms of America or American conditions in Hebrew literature. In the latter half of the last century,



Judaism underwent a freer development and took on a more sudden change in this country than it had ever done in any other age or country. It will not surprise us, therefore, to read in the Orthodox organ of Lemberg, *Zeitung für das Wahre Judenthum* (Supplement No. 16, 1881), a letter sent to Rabbi Hirsch Orenstein by an American resident whose name the Lemberg rabbi does not make public, but for whose learning and piety he vouches.

The picture the writer drew of the American Jews and Judaism was a gloomy one. Fortunately, however, such pessimistic utterances form the exception, rather than the rule. In order to show, therefore, that an exactly opposite view was held by other writers of Judaism in America, I am concluding this essay with quotations which, from a chronological standpoint, should have been placed several pages ahead. One of these quotations is taken from *Or Jacob*, Jerusalem, 1859, in which H. S. Silberman publishes a *bar-mitzwah* speech of his nephew, prefacing the work as follows:

I have asked my nephew to send me his *bar-mitzwah* address, because I am very fond of him, and my joy, when I received the manuscript, was like that of our forefathers when they received the law at Sinai. For the sake of my father's memory, however, who was a wise and learned man, a teacher and preacher and an earnest worker in Judaism, Rabbi Jacob Silberman, a native of Suvalke, who succeeded in implanting the word of God into his children, I have decided to publish this speech. Incidentally, it may serve to show the world that also in America it is possible to make Jewish scholars of children, for, as the Talmud has it: "Whoever wishes to do a good deed receives the divine assistance for its accomplishment." The speaker was born and mainly brought up in America, in Hazleton, Pennsylvania. I may truthfully say, however, that the motive prompting me to publish this address is not a desire to reflect glory upon myself or my family, but purely and simply the correction of a common error. It is generally supposed that America is a country in which children cannot be educated in the Jewish lore. This is a grave mistake. While the American custom is to have children take up business, yet, whoever cares to bring up his children as scholars, can readily accomplish it. It would indeed, be a libel upon that country to

presume that America causes an estrangement from our sacred laws.

Finally, it remains to be mentioned that the appreciation of America has given rise to the highest flights of fancy as evidenced by two poems of Judah Loeb Gordon. The one is entitled *Arez Hadashah*, written in 1859 and published in Joshua Meisach's *Perahim ve-Shoshanim*, Berdichev, 1892, and republished in Gordon's collected works, Wilna, 1898, vol. v. The poem ends with the words:

That beautiful land, that garden of Eden, to be sought out by every lost mortal.

In a note the poet says that he had intended this poem merely as a prologue to a sketch in which two lovers, whom their parents prevent from marrying, flee to America where "all the bruised find a balm for their wounds." They marry and live happily, succeeding at last in reconciling their parents, who also go to America and spend the remainder of their years in contented bliss and happiness.

היא ארץ הצבי, הוא גן העדן  
האובד לבני אדם יבקשוהו.

In another poem, *Ahoti Ruhamah* (to my sister Ruhamah, alluding to Hos. ii, 3), written in 1882, after the pogroms of 1881 and 1882, in which he addresses himself to Russian Jewry, the poet pays a still more glowing tribute to America, in the following lines:

Arise, let us go to a free atmosphere, to the land which offers light and life to every human being; to the country where humanity is respected and where liberty of conscience and of worship reign—there no robbers will rob you, there you will not be shamefully treated, Oh, sister Ruhamah.

קומי נלכה, במקום אור החפש  
יורח על כל בשר יאיר כל נפש  
במקום חביב כל הנברא בצלם  
על עמו ואלהיו איש לא יכלם—  
שם לא ישקוד זרים: שם נכלמה  
לא תהיי גם את, אחותי רחמה.



## LIFE OF HON. HENRY M. PHILLIPS.

BY J. BUNFORD SAMUEL.

The ancestors of Hon. Henry M. Phillips were colonial settlers here, and early were foremost in their religious and civil duties. His father, Zalegman Phillips, was a noted criminal lawyer, and *Parnas* or President of the Portuguese Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia, dedicated June 19, 1782. His grandfather, Jonas Phillips, was previously the President of the above-mentioned congregation, being elected on September 13, 1782, shortly after the dedication of the building. He also signed the amendment to the non-importation act.

Henry M. Phillips was born in Philadelphia on the 30th of June, 1811, and died, unmarried, August 28, 1884, aged 73 years. Without wealth, its surroundings and influence, the lad evinced a zeal and devotion to the shaping of his own career. He was a pupil in the High School of the Franklin Institute. His quickness in acquiring knowledge was the leading trait in his academic life.

It may be said that he ran through his course, and at its close was foremost amongst his fellows. There was an uncertainty as to the pursuit best suited to the youth; his father did not wish his son Henry to study law.

There were six sons and four daughters—two of the sons died in early childhood—and it was thought but one of the remaining sons should adopt the vocation of the father, but Henry, depending on his own ability as he measured it, was not satisfied till he became a student in his father's office. Before he attained his majority, being only twenty years of age, he was admitted to practice at the Philadelphia Bar on

January 5, 1832. The Bar of Philadelphia was then admittedly the most remarkable of the law associations on the continent.

It had become a popular adage, that no unsolvable problem would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer. Young Phillips thus commenced his legal career. The better to learn, he accepted the position of clerk in the Court of Common Pleas, presided over by Judge King, who has left a record of the most thorough mastery of jurisprudence, and whose name has few, if any, successful rivals in the profound respect of the Bench and Bar.

Under such daily tuition Mr. Phillips absorbed the principles of the law. He became both an adept in practice, and the proper relation of precedents to cases. Very soon he held an assured place. For nearly thirty years he advanced with progressive steps, till he reached the level of the leaders in his profession.

The subjoined opinion of his brethren, expressed at a meeting of the Bar, is probably the best estimate of his professional and personal character that can be given. This minute was adopted unanimously:

The death of Henry M. Phillips impels a sincere manifestation of the unfeigned sorrow of the Bar of Philadelphia. He was a man of rare qualities, a lawyer of striking and marked character, a friend of tried and true earnestness, a citizen of untiring devotion to all the duties imposed, faithful to every trust, of large and liberal views, he rose to a high rank in his profession, as the associate of the great lawyers of this Bar, and was rightfully recognized as one of the foremost citizens of Philadelphia.

The quickness and activity of his mind, his wonderful faculty of seizing as by intuition the strong points of his case, the force with which he elucidated them, the capacity for absorbing the principles of law which reported cases enunciated, his singularly retentive memory, gave to his professional career a distinction which was remarkable.

The kindness to young lawyers who asked his advice and legal aid was proverbial. Retiring from active practice, his last years were devoted to public duties of high order, and very much of his time was cheerfully given to advising and counseling in matters



of individual interest and public importance. Such a character is worthy of a memorial. Let it be inscribed on the scroll dedicated to our departed brother of the Bar.

The last public occasion when Mr. Phillips took his recognized place as a member of the Bar was presiding at a Bar dinner given December 20, 1882, to the late Chief Justice Sharswood of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Having acquired both reputation and an assured income, Mr. Phillips gave special attention to politics.

In 1856 he was elected from the fourth district of Pennsylvania to Congress. He took his seat in the 35th Congress on December 7, 1857. He was appointed to the standing committee on elections, and had for colleagues the ablest lawyers in the house, John W. Stevenson, L. Q. C. Lamar, Israel Washburn, James Wilson, and others.

Mr. Phillips was also placed on the special committee on the Pacific Railroad, with John S. Phelps as Chairman. It was thus that at the opening of his public life Mr. Phillips' reputation placed him amongst the foremost of the public men of that period. The method by which he acquired information and knowledge is not easily explained; it was more an inherent faculty than a systematic process; it may be called a mental idiosyncrasy. That Mr. Phillips devoted little, if any, time to general reading with the exception of fiction while actively engaged in his professional career is known to all of his friends. He wrote nothing on public questions, and indeed made no contributions on current or special literary subjects, yet his speeches in Congress were masterly and thorough on the questions he discussed.

On the 9th of March, 1858, he made a very able speech on "The admissions of Kansas as a State under the Lecompton Constitution." On this subject Mr. Phillips was in the line of his studies, and he manifested his familiarity with the questions involved in their discussion. That he made a deep im-

pression on the House is shown by the record of the proceedings.

On the 12th of June, 1858, he addressed the House on "The Expenditures and Resources of the Country," and made his mark in debate. At this time he met Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio. If he had not gained the ear of the House on this occasion, a failure would not have been wondered at under the concomitant circumstances.

The two speeches to which notice has been called are selected out of his legislative record because the subjects are so wholly disconnected with each other, as more distinctively to demonstrate the view here taken of Mr. Phillips' character. It was a remark often made by John Stephenson, his colleague in Congress from Kentucky, that Mr. Phillips was a very successful member of the House, and both in committee and on the floor was equal to any emergency.

On his retirement from Congress, Mr. Phillips returned to his professional duties, but from time to time he was induced to take an interest in matters of general public concern; he felt he ought to contribute his share to the welfare of Philadelphia, and from 1865 to 1875 he was engrossed in such service.

In December, 1858, the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania, elected Mr. Phillips Grand Master. The duties devolved upon the Grand Master were in harmony with his character and requirements, and the record of his services attests his fidelity to the trust, and the sincere testimony of the appreciation of his brethren.<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th of December, 1862, Mr. Phillips was chosen a trustee of the Jefferson Medical College, to fill a vacancy arising on the death of his brother, J. Altamont Phillips. This

<sup>1</sup> See Friedenbergl, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, p. 99.

medical school with all its adjuncts for teaching and training in the curative art, with its world-wide reputation for the highest capacities in its faculty, and the substantial attainments of its graduates, called from Mr. Phillips anxious and continuous attention.

The Court of Common Pleas on the 13th of May, 1867, appointed Mr. Phillips a member of the Board of Fairmount Park Commissioners, and on March 12, 1881, he was elected President of this body.

His services on this board were earnest and important, and continued up to his death. The esteem in which he was held by his fellows on the board may be best understood by the following resolution, passed August 29, 1884:

PHILADELPHIA, August 29, 1884.

At a meeting of the COMMISSIONERS OF FAIRMOUNT PARK, held this day, the following Preamble and Resolutions were adopted, viz.:

WHEREAS, Death having removed from our Body HENRY M. PHILLIPS, a member of the Commission since its organization in the year 1867, and, for the last four years, our presiding officer; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That, in view of his wise counsels, his faithful services, and his devotion to the objects of this Commission, we are sensible that any ordinary expressions of regret are inadequate to do justice to our heartfelt sorrow at his loss as an associate and a friend.

*Resolved*, That, in expressing our sense of bereavement, we are giving utterance to the public grief that death should have stricken from the wide field of his usefulness one to whose faithful hands were confided so many offices of honor and of trust, in all of which he exhibited a rare skill and unswerving integrity, which won for him the approbation of all men.

*Resolved*, That in his private virtues, his simplicity, his liberality, his gentle sympathy with distress and his active aid to the unfortunate, we recognize those traits of character, which entitle him to the affection and the respect of those, who survive him, and which will long keep his memory fresh in the grateful hearts of

those, whom he benefited, and hold his example up as one worthy of imitation by his not less fortunate successors.

*Resolved*, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Commission, and that a copy of them be sent to the family of our late President.

ATTEST: THOMAS S. MARTIN, Secretary.

In his will he left the following bequest to the commissioners:

To the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, the payment to be made to the treasurer for the time being, the sum of \$13,000, for which the sum of \$10,000 is to be by them used and applied in erecting within the said Park a suitable Memorial Fountain, and the other \$3000 is to be held in trust by them and invested, and the income therefrom used in keeping the said fountain in good order and condition.

On September 2, 1869, he was appointed a member of the Board of City Trusts; he was Vice-President from May 11, 1870, to March 13, 1878, and President from March 13, 1878, to December 4, 1882. His faithful and useful services in that board are fully recognized.

In 1870 he was chosen a director of the Academy of Music, and he became its president in 1872; he resigned from both offices in 1884.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed in April, 1870, a law creating the commission entrusted with the erection of municipal buildings for Philadelphia; Mr. Phillips' advice was sought, and his efforts enlisted to secure the legislation required. He was made a member of the commission by this act approved by the governor, August, 1870. On the 19th of October, 1871, he resigned.

At the meeting of the American Philosophical Society on January 20, 1871, Mr. Phillips was elected a member.

In March, 1874, he was elected a director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and the following minute to his memory was adopted the 10th of September, 1884:

MINUTE ON THE DEATH OF HENRY M. PHILLIPS.

Adopted at a Meeting of the Board of Directors of THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD COMPANY, held 10th of September, 1884:

The Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company have heard with regret and sorrow of the death of their late fellow-member HENRY M. PHILLIPS, Esquire, who was elected a Director of this Company on March 24, 1874, and who brought to its service an invaluable experience gained during years of active practice as a prominent member of the Philadelphia Bar and as an Administrator of many and important public trusts in connection with the welfare and social progress of the City of Philadelphia.

In the performance of his duties as a Director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and of its allied Companies with whose direction he was identified, his admirably-trained legal mind proved of the greatest value in the consideration of the many important financial and administrative questions submitted to the Board during his term of active and efficient service, and his clear judgment in all business affairs had great and deserved weight with his colleagues. He was strong and loyal in his friendships, untiring and zealous in his devotion to the many and varied interests confided to him, and while in his death we lose a personal friend, the Company is deprived of one of its most valued advisers.

On the 16th of October, 1874, Mr. Phillips was elected as one of the directors of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities. On his death the following minutes were adopted:

The President announced to the Board the death of Mr. Henry M. Phillips, which occurred on the twenty-eighth day of August last, whereupon, on motion of Mr. Antelo, the following minute was unanimously adopted:

The Directors, having heard of the death of Mr. Henry M. Phillips, desire to record their testimony of his worth and their appreciation of his services; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That as Trustees of the interests of this Institution, we gratefully and cordially recognize the valuable services of Mr. Phillips as a Director, and his unceasing solicitude for its welfare.

*Resolved*, That we mourn in his death the loss of a personal friend, alike wise in council and ready in performance, and endeared to us by the gentleness and kindness of his manners.



*Resolved*, That we respectfully offer our sincere sympathies to the relatives of our departed friend, and that the Secretary be hereby requested to furnish to the family of the deceased a copy of this minute.

This brief narrative of the life of Mr. Phillips and his connection with some of the public institutions of Philadelphia, shows the diversified duties he was interested in, and what a useful citizen had departed this life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The greater portion of the above life of Mr. Phillips was taken from a biographical notice of Henry M. Phillips by Hon. Richard Vaux, read before the American Philosophical Society, December 19, 1884. On December 10, 1865, Mr. Phillips was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## JEWES IN THE LEGAL AND MEDICAL PROFESSIONS IN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1800.

BY LEON HÜHNER, A. M., LL. B.

The important professions of law and medicine were of slow growth in America. Even at the close of the 18th century there were comparatively few trained lawyers or physicians in this country,<sup>1</sup> and the main reason for this probably lay in the prejudice existing among the early settlers against both professions. This attitude is best expressed in the quaint remark of Gabriel Thomas who in 1690 wrote his "Account of the Provinces of Pennsylvania and West Jersey." He says:

Of lawyers and physicians I shall say nothing, because this country is very peaceable and healthy. Long may it so continue and never have occasion for the tongue of the one nor the pen of the other—both equally destructive of men's estates and lives.<sup>2</sup>

This prejudice applied particularly to the legal profession. Many of the colonists, such as the Puritans in New England and the Quakers of Pennsylvania, had an ancient grudge against persecution by legal methods, and William Penn himself had been bullied in England and has left us some uncomplimentary remarks concerning law and lawyers.<sup>3</sup>

In all the colonies accordingly, *that* profession was discouraged; in several, attorneys were forbidden to receive any fees,<sup>4</sup> and from some they were banished altogether.<sup>5</sup> Thus,

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Warren, "A History of the American Bar," Boston, 1911, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and County of Pennsylvania and of West Jersey in America," London, 1698. See also Warren, *ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Warren, *ibid.*, pp. 7-10, 101-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. See also Locke's famous Constitutions for Carolina.

<sup>5</sup> Warren, *ibid.*, pp. 4, 130; Josiah H. Benton, "The Lawyer's Official Oath and Office" (1909).

as late as 1733, the trustees of the colony of Georgia excluded rum and lawyers as being prejudicial to its welfare, and although they soon relaxed as to the former evil, lawyers were not permitted to enter Georgia during the entire régime of the trustees.<sup>6</sup>

In New England much of the litigation was decided by the clergy<sup>7</sup> and some of the chief justices like Trumbull of Connecticut had been ministers.<sup>8</sup> Trained lawyers were few,<sup>9</sup> and of the two earliest in the profession in Boston, we know that the first was arrested and shipped out of the colony,<sup>10</sup> while the other left after three years because he could not make a living.<sup>11</sup>

This prejudice continued even after the Revolution. Owing to the long war, business and holdings had become unsettled, and considerable litigation sprang up in consequence. The

<sup>6</sup> Tailfer's "True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia," 1741, p. 21; Charles C. Jones, "History of Augusta, Ga.," Syracuse, 1890, p. 40 *et seq.*

<sup>7</sup> Charles Warren, *supra*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>9</sup> In Connecticut down to 1725 the number of attorneys was limited to two at Hartford and there were no more than about a dozen for the entire colony. See *Judicial History of Connecticut*.

<sup>10</sup> His name was Thomas Morton. See Warren, *ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

<sup>11</sup> His name was Thomas Lechford. See Emory Washburn, "Judicial History of Massachusetts," 1840. Also Warren, *ibid.*, p. 68. Before the Revolution most of the Chief Justices of Massachusetts were laymen, and of the twenty-three associate judges of Massachusetts during the same period only three were lawyers. See Warren, *ibid.*, p. 75. Dr. Douglass writing in 1747 gives the following additional reason for the small number of trained lawyers in America at the time: "Generally in all our colonies, particularly in New England, people are much addicted to quirks of the law. A very ordinary countryman in New England is almost qualified for a country attorney in England." William Douglass, "A Summary Historical and Political of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements and Present State of the British Settlements in North America," London, 1747. See also Warren, *ibid.*, p. 79.

number of trained lawyers increased in proportion;<sup>12</sup> but such was the feeling against them that in 1786 the citizens of Boston petitioned for laws "to crush or at least put a proper check or restraint on that order of Gentlemen denominated Lawyers, the complexion of whose modern conduct appears to us to tend rather to the destruction than the preservation of the town,"<sup>13</sup> while Dedham and other communities demanded a complete abolition of the profession.<sup>14</sup>

Under such conditions and with the small Jewish population in colonial days, we can hardly expect to find many Jewish names in the law before the beginning of the 19th century. In fact in many of the original states this profession was closed to Jews for a long time; while in some like Maryland and North Carolina, such disability continued even long after the Revolutionary period.<sup>15</sup>

Curiously enough, however, we find a Jew on the bench in America at a very early date. His name is Isaac Miranda, and he appears in Pennsylvania early in the 18th century. The date or place of his birth is unknown, but he was one of the earliest Jewish settlers of Philadelphia and the first we know of, in Lancaster, where he died in 1733.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> John Bach McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," vol. i; Griffith J. McRee, "Life and Times of James Iredell."

<sup>13</sup> See Warren, *ibid.*, pp. 214-215; Charles Francis Adams, "Three Episodes in Massachusetts History." Also *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, October, 1902.

<sup>14</sup> Warren, *ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>15</sup> See paper by the present writer on "The Struggle for Religious Liberty in North Carolina," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 16, pp. 37-70, where much material on this subject is collected; "Speech on the Jew Bill in Maryland" by H. M. Brackenridge, Philadelphia, 1829, and "Speech of Col. J. W. D. Worthington," published with the foregoing.

<sup>16</sup> His will, signed June 30, 1732, is recorded in Book E, of Philadelphia Wills, p. 320. For the particulars of his career I am indebted to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia, who wrote the sketch of Miranda for the "Jewish Encyclopedia."

James Logan, Secretary of the Province, refers to him in 1723 as "An apostate Jew or fashionable Christian Proselyte" who had gone into the interior of the colony to transact some official business.<sup>17</sup> In 1727 Miranda was appointed "agent to Receive and Collect the Perquisites and Rights of Admiralty,"<sup>18</sup> and on June 19, 1727, he was appointed Deputy Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty of the Province of Pennsylvania.<sup>19</sup> He was a large land-owner and his name is frequently mentioned in the archives of the colony.<sup>20</sup>

In New York, during the Dutch régime, there was no such thing as a distinct class of professional lawyers. Cases were tried before the Worshipful Court of the Schout, Burgomaster and Schepens, but neither the magistrates nor those who pleaded before them pretended to any legal education. In fact, this state of affairs continued into the English period, and almost to the close of the 17th century.<sup>21</sup> To quote Judge Redfield:

<sup>17</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. vii, p. 77. See also Dr. Rosenbach in "Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. ix, p. 587.

<sup>18</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. ix, p. 738.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 632.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, First Series, vol. i, pp. 266-7; "Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York," vol. v, pp. 517, 750. There were however trained lawyers of the Jewish race, in America, long before Miranda's day, if we take into account the secret Jews, or New Christians, of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions. Thus João Mendes da Silva, born at Rio de Janeiro in 1656, took his degree in law at the University of Coimbra and practiced his profession in Brazil. His son, Antonio José da Silva, was born at Rio in 1705 and likewise practiced the legal profession. The latter became famous as a Portuguese poet and dramatist, but was burnt at the stake at Lisbon in 1739 for being an adherent of Judaism. See "Brazilian Biographical Annual," edited by Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, pp. 31-34, 441-442; *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon*, xliiith edition, Leipzig, 1886, vol. xiv, p. 827, and G. A. Kohut in *Publications*, No. 4, pp. 174-187.

<sup>21</sup> See Charles P. Daly in "History of the Bench and Bar of New York," New York, 1897, vol. i, pp. 19, 25; Amasa A. Redfield in *ibid.*, p. 54.



The records do contain the names of a number of attorneys, but these attorneys were traders, factors for foreign merchants or it might be mechanics, who, possessing a recognized talent for managing affairs, or for penmanship, or an easy volubility, were likely to be called on by their neighbors to act as conveyancers, attorneys or advocates.<sup>22</sup>

So it happens that the names of Jews appear frequently among these early attorneys almost from the date of their arrival. Thus Solomon Pietersen, described as a Jew, appears as attorney in 1654,<sup>23</sup> and in the Court Records of New Amsterdam throughout the entire Dutch period, no name is more prominent than that of Asser Levy Van Swellem, whose almost uniform success, even against such powerful men as Stuyvesant and Bayard, doubtless accounts for the fact that he also appears as attorney for others.<sup>24</sup> He successfully defended the rights of his people against hostile officials, obtained recognition of their right to trade, the burgher right and the abandonment of a special tax on Jewish settlers. Frequently he represented Gentiles as well as Jews, and he figures in scores of law suits prior to 1700.<sup>25</sup>

At the beginning of the 18th century, however, New York began to recognize the legal profession as such.<sup>26</sup> The restrictions existing in England then came to the fore, and no other

<sup>22</sup> Amasa A. Redfield in *ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> "Records of New Amsterdam (Court Minutes)," vol. i, pp. 240, 259.

<sup>24</sup> See paper by the present writer on "Asser Levy, a Noted Burgher of New Amsterdam," in *Publications*, No. 8, pp. 9-23, where his numerous lawsuits are referred to. Also "Records of New Amsterdam," edited by B. Fernow (published by the City of New York), vols. i-vii, particularly vol. iii, pp. 88, 153, 248, 252, 279, 293, 380; vol. iv, pp. 63, 64, 73; also index to this publication.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Levy died in 1680.

<sup>26</sup> Between 1695 and the Revolution there were but 41 lawyers in New York. See Valentine's "History of New York." Lawyers were so few at first that a wealthy litigant would sometimes retain all of them, leaving none to represent his opponent. This abuse led to the enactment of a statute in 1695 limiting a litigant to two attorneys only. This law was re-enacted in 1697.

Jewish attorneys appear in New York during the rest of the Colonial period. The Constitution of 1777 swept away the disabilities referred to, yet it was not until 1802 that we meet with the first Jewish lawyer, Sampson Simson, a graduate of Columbia College, Class of 1800, who studied law with Aaron Burr, and was admitted in 1802.<sup>27</sup> Sampson Simson is best remembered as one of the founders of Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York.<sup>28</sup>

With the exception of Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Georgia, we find no Jewish lawyers anywhere in the Thirteen States before the beginning of the 19th century. As early as 1774, Moses Franks of Pennsylvania appears on a "list of Americans admitted as members of the London Inns of Court, to plead at the Bar of the English Courts of Common Law and Equity."<sup>29</sup>

The most distinguished Jewish lawyer from Pennsylvania prior to 1800, was undoubtedly Moses Levy, who was born in Philadelphia in 1757. His father, a prominent merchant, had been one of the signers of the famous Non-Importation Resolutions in 1765.<sup>30</sup> Moses entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1769 and was graduated in 1772.<sup>31</sup> Admitted to the

<sup>27</sup> See "Columbia College General Catalogue," 1894, p. 92; Myer S. Isaacs in *Publications*, No. 10, pp. 109-117.

<sup>28</sup> Sampson Simson was also Captain in the New York militia in 1804 and held that position during the War of 1812. See "Military Minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York," published by the State, Albany, 1902, pp. 586, 664, 724.

<sup>29</sup> Collyer Meriwether in *American Educational History Series*, edited by Herbert B. Adams, Washington, 1889, No. 4, p. 26.

<sup>30</sup> The original Document may be seen in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Harrison Montgomery, "A History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Foundation to A. D. 1770," Philadelphia, 1900; "University of Pennsylvania, Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculants of the College, 1749-1893," Philadelphia, 1894; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach's Sketch of Levy in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," and article by the present writer in *Publications*, No. 19, pp. 120-1; Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 38-9.

bar in 1778, he soon became one of the foremost lawyers of his day. After serving his State in the Legislature, he became Recorder of Philadelphia in 1802, which position he retained until 1822, when he became Presiding Judge of the District Court of Philadelphia. As such, he continued until 1825. For almost a quarter of a century before his death, which occurred at Philadelphia in 1826, he had been a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>32</sup> In all likelihood he is the "Mr. Levy of Pennsylvania" referred to in the correspondence between Jefferson and Gallatin in 1804, in which Jefferson mentions having Levy's name under consideration for the high office of Attorney General of the United States.<sup>33</sup>

Sampson Levy, a brother of Moses Levy, was admitted to practice in 1787 and a third brother whose name is not given is likewise mentioned as a lawyer of note.<sup>34</sup> Zalegman Phillips, a son of Jonas Phillips, a soldier in the Revolution and a prominent member of the Jewish Congregations of New York and Philadelphia, was admitted to the bar in 1799; he too was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> "The Writings of Albert Gallatin," edited by Henry Adams, Philadelphia, 1879, vol. i, pp. 206, 208, 219.

<sup>34</sup> Sampson Levy was admitted to the bar in Lancaster County. See J. I. Mombert, "An Authentic History of Lancaster County," Lancaster, 1869; Henry S. Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia," Philadelphia, 1894, pp. 39-41; David Paul Brown, "The Forum." As to the third brother see Townsend Ward, "The Germantown Road and its Associations" in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. i (1877).

<sup>35</sup> "University of Pennsylvania, Biographical Catalogue, 1749-1893," Philadelphia, 1894; Morais, *supra*, pp. 22, 27, 45, 49, 143, 202, 253, 272, 292, 401, 402, 411, 431, 447, 457; Munsell's "American Ancestry," vol. iv. Also sketch by the present writer in the "Jewish Encyclopedia." As to his father's military career in the Revolution see "Pennsylvania Associators and Militia in the Revolution," vol. i, p. 682.

Daniel Levy is mentioned as a lawyer in Northumberland County in 1791,<sup>36</sup> and later Samuel D. Franks, a son of Colonel Isaac Franks, a Jewish soldier in the Revolutionary War, became Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas for the Counties of Schuylkill, Lebanon and Dauphin early in the 19th century,<sup>37</sup> while Joseph Simon Cohen also a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania was a successful lawyer during the same period.<sup>38</sup>

In Judge O'Neill's work on the "Bench and Bar of South Carolina" mention is made of Moses Myers who was admitted to practice in 1793 and who became Clerk of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas in Charleston in 1798.<sup>39</sup> Abraham Myers was admitted in 1796<sup>40</sup> and Lyon Levy is mentioned as a Justice of the Peace in 1806.<sup>41</sup>

A little later, in 1806, Chapman Levy of Camden, South Carolina, was admitted to practice. I quote the following from Judge O'Neill's sketch:

This gentleman was a Hebrew by birth. He practised with eminent success in his native town and district as well as in Lancaster and Kershaw—I recollect only one case in which I had an opportunity to judge of his powers, I allude to the case of Canty against McWillie, involving a question of water privilege. His management and argument of that case was surpassingly excellent.

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<sup>36</sup> Herbert C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County, Pa." (Chicago, 1891). He resided at Sunbury, Pa. See also John Blair Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pa., 1755-1855" (Harrisburg, 1877).

<sup>37</sup> Morris Jastrow, "Documents relating to the Career of Colonel Isaac Franks," in *Publications*, No. 5, pp. 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> "University of Pennsylvania Biographical Catalogue"; Morais, *supra*, pp. 53, 410, 412, 432, 445.

<sup>39</sup> John Belton O'Neill, "Bench and Bar of South Carolina," vol. ii, p. 602; *The Georgetown Gazette*, February 20, 1799, May 22, 1798.

<sup>40</sup> O'Neill, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> He seems also to have been State Treasurer of South Carolina. See "Arguments advanced against the Enfranchisement of the Jews, in a Series of Letters by Francis Henry Goldsmid," London, 1833.

Judge O'Neill concludes :

I regret that I have not the means of doing him fuller justice but meagre as this sketch is, it will place his name in company with his brethren of the Bar, and South Carolina will remember him and I trust will add much more to his fame than I have been able to do.<sup>42</sup>

Chapman Levy was Captain of a rifle company in the War of 1812 and later for several years was a member of the Legislature of his State.<sup>43</sup>

Turning now to the art of medicine, so intimately associated with the intellectual life of the Jews even during the darkest periods of the Middle Ages, it is but natural to find Jewish physicians in America at a very early date. In fact, it is interesting to note that among the companions of Columbus on his famous first voyage, both the ship physician, Maestre Bernal, and the Surgeon Marco were of Jewish stock. Bernal had formerly lived at Tortosa and as an adherent of Judaism "por la Ley de Moysen" had undergone public penance at Valencia in October, 1490.<sup>44</sup>

There were doubtless numbers of other Spanish and Portuguese Jewish physicians who found their way to the New World at an early date. But the eye of the Inquisition followed them even here, so that in America, as in Spain and Portugal, they were compelled to observe their faith in secret. It was only when these New Christians were denounced to the Holy Office as secret Jews that their race and faith appear in the records. Thus we find that among the secret Jews burned at the stake in Spanish and Portuguese America, during the 16th and 17th centuries, were a number of physicians, some of

<sup>42</sup> John Belton O'Neill, "Bench and Bar of South Carolina," Charleston, 1859, vol. ii, p. 281.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> See M. Kayserling, "Christopher Columbus" (translated by Prof. Charles Gross of Harvard), New York, 1894, p. 90, citing Inquisition Records of Valencia now in the Archives of Alcalá de Henares.



whom were men of note and influence. Only a few of these will be mentioned here.

Alvaro Nuñez of Braganza, who lived in La Plata, was burned about 1582.<sup>45</sup> Juan Alvarez suffered a similar fate at Lima, Peru, about 1580,<sup>46</sup> and Francisco Maldonado de Silva of Lima was imprisoned for thirteen years on account of his faith.<sup>47</sup> Mention may also be made of Jacob de Andrade Velloso, who was born in Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1639, during the Dutch régime. After Brazil had been re-taken by the Portuguese, he practised in Holland, where he died in 1712.<sup>48</sup>

The present paper, however, is confined to the territory now included in the United States, and it seems curious that but few Jewish physicians appear within these limits prior to the 19th century. In the thirteen original colonies there appear to have been no legal restrictions and the only explanation is, that the number of Jews in the country was small and that the study of medicine met with little encouragement at the time.

It must be borne in mind in this connection that before 1783, there were but two medical schools in all the Thirteen States, namely Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> J. T. Medina, "Historia del Tribunal del S. Oficio de la Inquisicion de Lima (1569-1820)," Santiago, 1887; M. Kayserling, *supra*, pp. 133, 134.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Basnage, "Histoire des Juifs" (Taylor's translation), p. 695. See also G. A. Kohut in *Publications*, No. 4, p. 113, collecting additional authorities.

<sup>48</sup> "Brazilian Biographical Annual," *supra*, vol. i, pp. 124-5; G. A. Kohut in *Publications*, No. 3, p. 144.

<sup>49</sup> Nathan Smith Davis, "Contributions to the History of Medical Education in the United States. Special Report prepared for the U. S. Bureau of Education," Washington, 1877, pp. 9, 10. The first medical institution in America was established in Philadelphia in 1769 largely through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. See David Hosack, "Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Medical Schools of New York and Philadelphia," in *American Medical and Philosophical Register*, Jan., 1812, p. 229.

Both these had graduated less than fifty physicians during the entire period.<sup>50</sup> In New England there were no medical schools at all.<sup>51</sup> In Puritan New England the ancient notion prevailed that the art of healing belonged of right to the priest and not to any distinct body of men. In fact, we find clergymen acting as physicians until quite late in the Colonial period.<sup>52</sup> In the larger cities there were skilled physicians but most of these had studied in Europe, and but few of the settlers could afford to send their sons to foreign universities for that purpose. Some practitioners had learned their art by associating with older physicians, and the public generally relied upon a few simple remedies, much like the peasantry of Europe.<sup>53</sup>

New York took the lead in regard to a higher standard for the medical profession, but even here, between 1695 and the

<sup>50</sup> See Nathan Smith Davis, *supra*.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 22. Harvard organized its Medical Department in 1783 and Dartmouth in 1797. See *ibid.*, p. 22. As late as 1810 there were only five medical schools in the United States. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10; James Thacher, "American Medical Biography," Boston, 1828, p. 14; John B. Beck, "An Historical Sketch of the State of Medicine in the American Colonies," Albany, 1850, p. 7; N. S. Davis, "History of Medical Education in the United States," Chicago, 1851, p. 18. The attitude of Puritan New England toward the medical profession led to most amusing discussions. Among the subjects assigned for Master's Degrees at Harvard College, which the candidates were obliged to discuss, we find the following: "Ought Physicians to pray for the Health of the People" (1724), "Is the Inoculation of the Small Pox into Human Bodies Lawful and Safe" (1724), "Should the Fees of Physicians on the Lord's Day be counted as their own." (Decided in the Negative, 1727.) See "Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College, 1655-1791," arranged by Edward J. Young, Cambridge, 1880.

<sup>53</sup> James Thacher, "American Medical Biography," Boston, 1828; John B. Beck, "An Historical Sketch of the State of Medicine in the American Colonies," Albany, 1850; N. S. Davis, "History of Medical Education in the United States," Chicago, 1851.

Revolutionary War, we find but forty-four practitioners for the entire period.<sup>54</sup>

The earliest Jewish physician in this country was probably Jacob Lumbrozo, concerning whom Professor Hollander presented an interesting paper some years ago.<sup>55</sup> He came to Maryland in 1656 and built up a lucrative practice in Charles County.<sup>56</sup> The records describe him as the "Jew Doctor, a native of Lisbon of the Kingdom of Portugal."<sup>57</sup> He seems to have lived in Holland prior to coming to America.<sup>58</sup>

Another Jewish physician appears in the earliest records of the Colony of Georgia. Dr. Samuel Nunez Ribiero, frequently called Dr. Nunez, was among the first settlers coming to Savannah in 1733, within a year after the founding of the Colony by Oglethorpe.<sup>59</sup> According to Major Noah's account, Nunez had been Court physician at Lisbon and was a man of considerable wealth and station. Warned by his friends of his impending arrest by the Inquisition, he arranged to convey part of his wealth to an English vessel and in order to avoid suspicion, gave a great function at his residence before his departure. While the feast was in progress, he and his

<sup>54</sup> See Valentine's "History of New York." Prior to 1801 Columbia had graduated but twenty-three in medicine. See "Columbia College General Catalogue," 1894, p. 166.

<sup>55</sup> Professor Jacob H. Hollander in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*; also in *Publications*, No. 1, pp. 25-40

<sup>56</sup> J. H. Hollander in *Publications*, No. 1, p. 33, where authorities are cited. See also "Records of the Land Office" (Md.), Liber 3, folio 363; also Walter R. Steiner, "A Contribution to the History of Medicine in Maryland," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, xiii, pp. 194, 196.

<sup>57</sup> J. H. Hollander in *Publications*, *supra*, pp. 27, 31. Also "Provincial Court Records of Maryland"; Walter R. Steiner, "A Contribution to the History of Medicine in Maryland," pp. 8, 11, 12.

<sup>58</sup> Hollander in *Publications*, *supra*, pp. 32, 34, 38.

<sup>59</sup> Leon Hühner, "The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times," in *Publications*, No. 10, pp. 67-70.

family made their escape.<sup>60</sup> Coming to England he joined a group of settlers about to embark for America. In Savannah he gained the admiration of Oglethorpe by his generous ministering to the sick, so that when the trustees in England protested against the presence of Jews in the Colony, the former called their attention to the good services of Dr. Nunez.<sup>61</sup> The trustees, however, replied that the doctor should have been compensated, but that no land should be allotted to Jews.<sup>62</sup> This direction Oglethorpe disregarded and the name of Samuel Nunez Ribiero appears in the original deed of allotment of land in Savannah.<sup>63</sup>

The next physician appears in Virginia during the early portion of the 18th century in the person of Dr. Siccary, mentioned in Dr. Thacher's work on "Eminent Physicians who have flourished in America," which appeared in 1828, and from which I quote the following:

Dr. Siccary, a practitioner in Medicine, was it is believed, a Portuguese Jew. It is said by Mr. Jefferson that we are indebted to him for the introduction of that admirable vegetable, the tomato. He was of the opinion that a person who should eat a sufficient abundance of these apples, would never die. Whether he followed his own prescription is not known; but he certainly attained to a very old age, and particularly for the climate in which he lived.<sup>64</sup>

On looking up the history of tomato culture I find that the plant is not indigenous, but was introduced into this country

<sup>60</sup> George White, "Statistics of Georgia" (1849), pp. 101, 619. Also Leon Hühner, "The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times," in *Publications*, No. 10, p. 74.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72; Charles C. Jones, "History of Georgia," vol. i, pp. 154-5; Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. i, p. 102.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Charles C. Jones, "History of Georgia," vol. i, p. 158; "Stevens' History of Georgia," vol. i, p. 104; Leon Hühner, *supra*, p. 78.

<sup>64</sup> "American Medical Biography or Memoirs of Eminent Physicians who have flourished in America," by James Thacher, M. D., Boston, 1828, p. 74 *et seq.*

from South America and was a long time regarded as poisonous, being used only as a garden ornament.<sup>65</sup>

In the records of Virginia mention is also made of a Dr. Isaac Levy who practiced between 1779 and 1786, in that wild region then known as the Illinois Country. He was a sort of combination of merchant, financier and physician though he figures repeatedly in the "French Records" as plaintiff for services in the last capacity.<sup>66</sup>

Some of his suits in that connection are most amusing. In 1782 he sued one Buteau for 400 livres for physician's services. As the defendant claimed he was not entirely cured, the Court decided that plaintiff continue attending the defendant until he was cured, on condition that defendant act according to orders and do nothing that can counteract the medicine of plaintiff. Shortly afterward, however, Levy complained in Court that his patient had been disobeying orders. The defendant was summoned and explained

that he had taken the 60 pills prescribed in two days, instead of seven a day, in order to be cured more speedily; whereupon Levy answered that this was impossible

as the quantity would have killed him many times over. Judgment was thereupon given in the physician's favor.<sup>67</sup>

Two Jewish physicians appear in New York on the roll of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation as early as 1742. They are Dr. Woolin and Dr. Nunez.<sup>68</sup> The former, Dr. Elias

<sup>65</sup> See "Encyclopædia Americana," s. v., "Tomato"; Encyclopædia Britannica," *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> See "Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library," vol. ii, Virginia Series, edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, Springfield, 1907, pp. 39, 463.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>68</sup> Their names appear in the original Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of New York where their offerings in synagogue are recorded during the year mentioned. See *Publications*, No. 21, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48.



Woolin, was a native of Bohemia and seems to have arrived at New York about 1740. He advertised as a physician in Zenger's *New York Weekly Journal*, stating that he had served in his "Imperial Majesties Army as Chirurgion four years." His residence was on Stone Street.<sup>69</sup>

In 1752 Jacob Isaac a German "lately arrived" in New York, advertised wonderful cures performed by him,<sup>70</sup> and in 1753 he is twiced mentioned as "Doctor" in the records of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation.<sup>71</sup> In 1750 a Dr. Levy<sup>72</sup> and in 1761 a Dr. Andrew Judah also appear in the same records.<sup>73</sup> The latter advertised in Weyman's *New York Gazette* for that year describing himself as a "medicinal doctor lately arrived in this city."<sup>74</sup> Dr. Judah subsequently went to South Carolina where he described himself as a physician from Holland, and at another time, as a physician from London.<sup>75</sup>

Later on we find Dr. Isaac Abrahams, a graduate of

<sup>69</sup> His house is described as "lately occupied by Mr. Soloman Myers." See his advertisement in Zenger's *New York Weekly Journal*, May 25, 1741.

<sup>70</sup> See *The New York Gazette, Revived as The Weekly Post Boy*, March 2 to April 6, 1752.

<sup>71</sup> Volume 26. I am indebted to Mr. Samuel Oppenheim for this item as well as the two newspaper items covered by the two preceding notes.

<sup>72</sup> See Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of New York where his synagogue offerings are recorded during the year mentioned. *Publications*, No. 21, p. 60.

<sup>73</sup> This appears as Receipts and Bills of Andrew Judah, Physician, for medical attendance and medicine to poor people, for Congregation Shearith Israel.

<sup>74</sup> His residence was "at the corner of Bayard Street in Broad Street facing Mr. John Livingston, at the house of Mrs. Jane Sloan." See Weyman's *New York Gazette*, August 17 to Sept. 7, 1761. I am indebted to Mr. Samuel Oppenheim for this item.

<sup>75</sup> *The South Carolina Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1764.

Columbia College in 1774,<sup>76</sup> and Dr. Joel Hart, born in 1784, who was educated in England and a graduate of the Royal College of Surgery in London. The latter deserves to be remembered as one of the founders of the Medical Society of the County of New York in 1806, and as one of the incorporators and trustees of the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1807.<sup>77</sup>

In the first New York City Directory (1786) appear the names of Dr. Barnet Cowan, Physician, and Saul Israel, "Curer of Deafness."<sup>78</sup> Dr. Hyman Isaac Long, originally from the island of Jamaica, appears in the records of the New York Congregation about 1795. He also figures in Masonic records of New York, Virginia and South Carolina, 1795-6.<sup>79</sup>

In the old Jewish Cemetery at New York, is a tombstone in memory of Walter J. Judah who died in 1798, while attending the sick during the great epidemic of yellow fever. The tombstone is inscribed as follows:

<sup>76</sup> See "Columbia College General Catalogue," 1894, p. 87; Leon Hühner, "Jews in Connection with the Colleges of the Thirteen Original States," in *Publications*, No. 19, p. 118.

<sup>77</sup> See "Report and Address delivered by the President to the Medical Society of the County of New York," 1807, p. 15; Charter of College of Physicians and Surgeons; also *Publications*, No. 4, pp. 215-218. Dr. Hart was the only son of Ephraim Hart, a New York merchant about the time of the American Revolution, who later became one of the founders of the New York Stock Exchange, and also a State Senator. Dr. Hart was U. S. Consul at Leith, Scotland, from 1817-1832. See "Records of State Department," Washington, D. C. He died in 1842 and is buried in the Eleventh Street Cemetery of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, at New York.

<sup>78</sup> See "The New York Directory," 1786; also 1795. Dr. Cowan's name appears in the *Directory* for 1790 as Barnett Coan and in 1792 as Bernard Cowen.

<sup>79</sup> See Samuel Oppenheim, "The Jews in Masonry," in *Publications*, No. 19, pp. 34, 71, 78.

Zealous he was in his labor, the labor of healing,  
Strengthening himself as a lion and running swiftly as a hart to  
bring healing  
To the inhabitants of this City, treating them with loving kindness  
When they were visited with the Yellow Fever.  
He gave money from his own purse to buy for them beneficent  
medicines.  
But the good that he did was the cause of his death.<sup>80</sup>

Dr. Manuel Phillips, a son of Jonas Phillips, appears somewhat later and served as assistant surgeon in the War of 1812.<sup>81</sup>

In connection with Pennsylvania, the name of Philip Moses Russell, one of the founders of Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia, has been frequently referred to as one of the surgeons of the Revolution.<sup>82</sup> Russell was a Jew born about 1745, who resided at Germantown, Pa. After the British occupation of Philadelphia he became surgeon's mate to Surgeon Norman attached to the Second Virginia Regiment. He served at Valley Forge, but illness forced him to resign in August, 1780.<sup>83</sup> Russell received a letter of commendation from General Washington for his assiduous and faithful attention to the sick and wounded.<sup>84</sup> He is also mentioned in Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution" as surgeon's mate both in connection with Pennsylvania and Virginia,<sup>85</sup> and as a pensioner for his patriotic services during the War of Inde-

<sup>80</sup> Rosalie S. Phillips, "A Burial Place for the Jewish Nation Forever," in *Publications*, No. 18, p. 102.

<sup>81</sup> See Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 416, 426, 477; Simon Wolf, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," p. 76.

<sup>82</sup> Morais, *supra*, p. 447; Simon Wolf, *ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*; Joseph N. Toner, "The Medical Men of the Revolution," Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 106, 126; House Reports, 30th Congress, 1st Session, vol. i, No. 112.

<sup>84</sup> See House Reports, *supra*. This certificate was lost in 1812. On the petition of his widow Esther Russell, Congress granted her a pension of \$480 in January, 1848.

<sup>85</sup> Joseph M. Toner, *supra*, pp. 106, 126.

pendence.<sup>86</sup> My own impression is that Russell was in no sense a physician, but merely a physician's assistant. He certainly never practiced the art of medicine after his resignation from the army.

In South Carolina Dr. Nathan Levy is mentioned as a physician as early as 1772.<sup>87</sup> Dr. Levy Myers, a member of the Legislature in 1796, was Apothecary General of the State prior to 1800,<sup>88</sup> Dr. Sarzedas was a practitioner in Charleston in 1795,<sup>89</sup> and tradition has it that a Doctor Solomon served as Surgeon in the Revolutionary line.

Dr. Benjamin Benneau Simons of Charleston, S. C., a graduate of Brown University in 1796, studied medicine in London and received his M. D. from the University of Edinburgh. I am unable however to say whether he was a Jew or not.<sup>90</sup>

In Georgia Dr. Moses Sheftall, born in 1769, served as a member of the Legislature and as surgeon in the Chatham Regiment. He became one of the incorporators of the Georgia Medical Society in 1804.<sup>91</sup> Dr. Moses Sheftall was the son of Mordecai Sheftall, a prominent patriot, who was Deputy

<sup>86</sup> See House Reports, *supra*. From this it appears that he was granted a pension in 1818, and died in 1830.

<sup>87</sup> "Columbia Records," Book PP, 1771-4, p. 193.

<sup>88</sup> *Georgetown Gazette*, 1801. See also "Arguments advanced against the Enfranchisement of the Jews, considered in a Series of Letters," by Francis Henry Goldsmid, London, 1833.

<sup>89</sup> David Sarzedas had been a patriot soldier in the Revolutionary War. See "Report from the Secretary of State in Relation to the Pension Establishment of the United States," Washington, 1835, vol. iii, No. 5114. "South Carolina Pension Roll," p. 15. See also Leon Hühner, "The Jews of South Carolina prior to 1800," in *Publications*, No. 12, pp. 39-62.

<sup>90</sup> "Historical Catalogue of Brown University," Providence, 1905, p. 84.

<sup>91</sup> Adelaide Wilson, "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," Boston, 1889, p. 239; "Historical Record of the City of Savannah," by F. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew, Savannah, 1869, p. 186; Markens, "Hebrews in America," p. 50.

Commissary General of Issues for South Carolina and Georgia during the Revolution.<sup>92</sup>

A little later appeared Dr. Jacob De La Motta, born in Savannah in 1789, who deserves mention as the author of an early medical work which appeared in 1810.<sup>93</sup> He, too, was an army surgeon in the War of 1812,<sup>94</sup> while Abraham De Leon is mentioned as surgeon's mate in the same connection.<sup>95</sup> In 1836 Dr. De La Motta was elected Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Medicine at Paris.

As early Colonial and State records are made more accessible, the names of additional Jewish lawyers and physicians will doubtless be discovered. The present paper is pioneer work, which the writer hopes will stimulate others to further research.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* See also "Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State," No. 3 (Washington Papers), pp. 106-7; *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1879, p. 260; Leon Hühner, "The Jews of Georgia to the Close of the 18th Century," in *Publications*, No. 17, p. 94, and authorities there collected.

<sup>93</sup> "Investigation of the Properties and Effects of the *Spirae Trifoliata* of Linnaeus or Indian Physic," by J. De La Motta, Philadelphia, 1810.

<sup>94</sup> See Francis B. Heitman, "Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army," Washington, 1903, p. 365. Dr. De La Motta was a devout Jew, and was largely instrumental in re-establishing the Jewish Congregation in Savannah. He also figures in the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson. As to further detail concerning him see article by present writer in "Jewish Encyclopedia"; *The Occident*, vol. iii, p. 59.

<sup>95</sup> Francis B. Heitman, *supra*, p. 366.





## NOTES ON AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY.

BY REV. D. DE SOLA POOL, PH. D.

### I.

#### A LETTER WRITTEN FROM SAN FRANCISCO IN 1854.

When the history of the Jews in America comes to be written, it will be made up not so much of dry-as-dust facts as of living stories of universal human interest. The prosaic dates and facts of history need a coloring of personal and vivid details to make them seize the imagination and stir the interest. The following letter is therefore given for publication, in the hope of stimulating others who may be in possession of similar original material to present it to a wider public.

SAN FRANCISCO den 13 Jan 1854

Lieber Bruder:

Zu meinem grössten erstaunen habe ich erfahren, und zwar von einen Namens Liwey (?), dass du in America bist mit einer Familie Herzog, ich konnte mich nicht entsinnen, wer der Herzog ist, bis ich es ungefähr errathen habe. Ich denke es ist Jacob Herz mit seiner Frau aus Limburg und Euer Wohnort ist Baltimore.

Wie gehts bei Euch wie gehen die Bissnisse gewiss nicht vom besten man muss sich nicht vorstellen dass einem die gebratene Tauben in Mund fliegen, hier heisst es geschäft, ich habe es erfunden, denn ich habe sehr viel ausgestanden, besonders in Pannama. Da war ich einige Monate Krank, hatte kein geld und nichts zu essen, Wie ich mich etwas erholt hatte, da habe ich sehr verschiedene Arbeit gethan um Bording Zu haben es kost jeden tag 1½ Dollar, denn ich war zu schwach um zu spielen mit der Guitaar. GOTT hatt aber geholfen, ich war 4-5 Monate in Pannama und die furchtbare Hitze, aber es ist zu verdienen wie ich erst gesund war da hatte ich in 5 Wochen 120 Dollars in Gold in meiner Tasche, Jetzt konnte ich nach Callifornien Kommen

ich habe es aber auf einer Art gemacht durch einen Doktor, dass ich eine stelle bekommen habe am Stierner und zwar als Koch in der . . . also brauchte ich keine Passage zu bezahlen. Auch habe ich Carl Reis gesprochen und etwas an ihm verdient mit Cartoffeln das Pfund kostete 1 Schilling es ist nicht zu beschreiben wie theuer alles war. Jetzt bin ich in Callifornien schon 7 Monate in San Francisco und bin verheiratet, habe eine brave Frau and es geht mir Gott sei Dank recht gut, ich habe mir schon einige hundert Dollar eingenommen. Wenn Du lust hast zu kommen so fange ich mit meiner Frau und Du ein fein Kaffeehaus an und haben alle Abend Musik und Gesang, denn hier kost jede Cigarre 1-2 Schilling und jeder Trink dasselbe also ist auf dieser Art hier Geld zu machen, denn ich bin in San Francisco bekannt wie in Cöln . . . . Schreibe mir umgehend ob Du kommen willst oder nicht, wenn Dir sollten 50 Dollar fehlen so schreibe mir umgehend und ich schicke Dir das Geld wenn Du es haben kannst, ohne mich so ist es besser und ich stecke das Geld im Geschäft. jedenfalls umgehend Antwort damit ich mich danach zu richten habe. Nur nimm kein Tru Ticket denn von Pannama kostet es zu weilen 25 Dollar bis San Francisco mit dem Stierner gehe nur nicht mit einem Seegelschiff. wie gesagt schreibe mir umgehend ich lasse Dich nicht im Stich je eher Du kommen kannst desto besser ist es für Dich und für mich, ein gewöhnlicher Arbeiter hat per Tag 4 bis 5 Dollar, nun kannst Du denken wie bezahlt wird. Du sprichst gewiss schon gut englisch, ich auch denn meine Frau ist eine Americanerrin u. spricht kein Wort deutsch geboren in Boston auch etwas spanish, hier werden alle Sprachen von der Welt gesprochen. Wenn Du sollst nach Pannama kommen, so gehe nach dem Doktor, den Namen habe ich vergessen, er ist ein Deutscher wenn Du herankommst nach Pannama die erste Apotheke rechts denn links ist auch eine Deutsche, sie kennen mich beide, sage nur Du wärst mein Bruder der an der rechten Hand wird Dir vielleicht eine Stelle am Stierner als Werder verschaffen und Du brauchst keine Passage zu bezahlen. Halte Dich nur nicht in Pannama lange auf denn es ist sehr ungesund, und iss nicht zu viel Fleisch, je ehr Du fortkommen kannst desto besser ist es. Thue wie es Dir am besten gefällt.

Viele Grüsse von meiner Frau und sie wünscht Dich sehr gerne zu sehen

DEIN BRUDER J. FELSENTHAL.

Grüsse herzlich von mir Jacob Herzog nebst Frau und Sohn und ich wünsche Ihnen viel Glück. Jacob

On the back of the letter is written :

Meine Adresse ist  
Jacob  
Julius Felsenthal<sup>1</sup>  
Globe Hottel San Francisco  
Schäfer & Comp. Callifornien

## II.

### THE BURIAL SOCIETY OF CURAÇAO IN 1783.

In 1783 the Jewish community of Curaçao formed a burial society. It published a book, written in Portuguese, describing the newly formed society, and containing its by-laws, etc.

The title of the handbook runs :

Reglamentos da Sta Irmandade de Caregar os Difuntos, Intitulada Habodat Akodes, Estabelicida Na Ilha de Curacao, Anno 5544.<sup>2</sup>

The book opens with an address to the Mahamad, Adjuntos, and the elders of the congregation Mikve Israel, in which is explained the urgent need of such a society and asking the congregation's approval of it.

This address is signed by :

|                                                  |                                             |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Mordechay de Sel <sup>o</sup> . Lopez Henriquez. | Ab <sup>m</sup> . Jesurun Henriquez.        |
| David de Eliao Namias de Crasto.                 | Is. de Sem <sup>l</sup> . Jesurun Pinto.    |
| Josseph de Is. Curiel.                           | Semuel Haim Lopez Fonseca.                  |
| Jacob de Dan <sup>l</sup> . Aboab Cardozo.       | Selomoh de Is. Levy Maduro.                 |
| Rephael Namias de Crasto.                        | Mordechay Haim Senior.                      |
| Eliao de Mich <sup>l</sup> . Jeudah Leao.        | Reuben Sasso.                               |
| Binjamin Curiel.                                 | Semuel Idanha de Casseres.                  |
|                                                  | Selomoh de Mord <sup>y</sup> . Levy Maduro. |

The request to form a burial society was granted by the congregation, and the rules and by-laws of the brotherhood were approved and submitted to the congregation for approval by Daniel Lopes Penha and Hisq<sup>u</sup>. Mord<sup>y</sup>. Calvo.

<sup>1</sup> The name Jacob is crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Rules of the Holy Brotherhood for carrying the Dead, called "Abodat Hakodesh," established in the Isle of Curaçao in the year 5544 (1783).

The by-laws follow. They need no detailed comment. The Hebra was composed of forty-eight persons, twenty-four married and twenty-four single. On the 27th of Tishri, 5544, corresponding with the 23rd of October, 1783, the Mahamad accepted the rules of the new brotherhood, the approbation being signed by:

|                                       |                                                          |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Mord <sup>y</sup> . Motta, President. | Ab <sup>m</sup> . de David Jezurun.                      |
| David Morales.                        | Is. de Jacob Levy Maduro.                                |
| Imanuel de Moss. Alvares Corca.       | Jshac de Ab <sup>m</sup> . Henriq <sup>z</sup> . Fereyra |
| Jshac de Marchena.                    | (Gabay).                                                 |

At first the society lacked six for its full membership, four married and two single being required to complete the list; but, these were soon added, and the full list in 1783 consisted of

## MARRIED:

|                                                                 |                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Hisquiao Mord <sup>y</sup> . Calvo.                             | Jacob Abenatar.                                           |
| Daniel Lopez Penha.                                             | Josiao Monsanto.                                          |
| Jacob Haim Rod <sup>s</sup> . Pereyra.                          | Mosseh de Casseres.                                       |
| Eliao Penso.                                                    | Jacob de Castro.                                          |
| Isaac Lopez Peña.                                               | Ab <sup>m</sup> . de Leaõ Nunes.                          |
| Salomon de Castro.                                              | Ab <sup>m</sup> . Haim Fidanque.                          |
| Moses Gonsales.                                                 | Guidon Salas.                                             |
| Jeosuah de Jacob Naar.                                          | Ishac de Ab <sup>m</sup> . Henriq <sup>z</sup> . Fereyra. |
| Ab <sup>m</sup> . Saquis.                                       | Raphael Iesurun Sasportas.                                |
| Eliao Lopez Penha.                                              | Ishac Monsanto.                                           |
| Ab <sup>m</sup> . H <sup>z</sup> . Moron.                       | Binjamin de Mord <sup>y</sup> . Motta.                    |
| Ab <sup>m</sup> . Lopez Penha J <sup>b</sup> . Z <sup>a</sup> . | Dan <sup>l</sup> . de D <sup>a</sup> . Gomez Casseres.    |

## SINGLE:

|                                                                        |                                                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mord <sup>y</sup> . de Sel <sup>o</sup> . Lopez. Henriq <sup>z</sup> . | Binjamin Curiel.                                                                  |
| David Namias de Crasto.                                                | Ab <sup>m</sup> . de Binj <sup>a</sup> . Jes <sup>n</sup> . Henriq <sup>z</sup> . |
| Ab <sup>m</sup> . Gomez.                                               | Binjamin de Ab <sup>m</sup> . Iesurun.                                            |
| David de Ab <sup>m</sup> . Jezurun.                                    | Selo. de Mord <sup>y</sup> . Levy Maduro.                                         |
| Selomoh de Is. Levy Maduro.                                            | Mosseh Iezurun Sasportas.                                                         |
| Semuel Idanha de Casserez.                                             | Reuben Sasso.                                                                     |
| Mord <sup>y</sup> . Garcia de Paz.                                     | Semuel Haim Lopez Fonseca.                                                        |
| Jossep de Ishac Curiel.                                                | Aron de Jacob H <sup>z</sup> . Moraõ.                                             |
| Eliao Fidanque.                                                        | Ishac Rodrig <sup>z</sup> . Miranda.                                              |
| Jacob de Danl. Aboab Cardozo.                                          | Aron Iesurun de Oliveyra.                                                         |
| David de Mosseh de Castro.                                             | Gabriel de David da Costa                                                         |
| Raphael Namias de Crasto.                                              | Gomez.                                                                            |
| Eliao de Michael Jeud <sup>n</sup> . Leaõ.                             |                                                                                   |



This list of names should be of great value to anyone reconstructing the history of the Jewish community in Curaçao. It is also of value in the larger task of tracing the history of Sephardic families and their connection with America. Many of those mentioned in the lists are descendants of the earliest Jewish settlers in Curaçao who arrived in 1650, such as the Pereiras, Jesuruns, Marchenas, Oleveiras, and Aboab Cardozos. Among the earliest interments in the Jewish cemetery in Curaçao, we find mentioned a Morao (1673), a de Paz (1692), a Naar (1692), two Leaos (1694 and 1698) and a Lopez de Fonseca (1707). The three who laid the corner stones of the Curaçao synagogue in 1692 were Mordechai Alvarez Correa, Samuel de Casseres and Jacob Hizkiaho Morao. Members of all these families appear in the lists contained in the burial society's handbook.

The little "Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao," written by Joseph M. Corcos, in 1897, contains valuable information from the earliest period, but leaves blank the period from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The lists contained in this handbook of the burial society should help fill up many a blank in this period.

The present writer has not attempted to trace out in detail the position held in their various family histories and in the history of the community in Curaçao by each of the men mentioned, although such a task undertaken by a careful historian would be of value. As an instance of the little facts which may be gleaned, it may be mentioned that Joshua ben Jacob Naar, mentioned among the married members of the society, is known to us as the author of a treatise foretelling the coming of the Messiah in the year 1806 and the rebuilding of Jerusalem in 1808. This treatise, which is unpublished, was written in Curaçao in 1792-1794.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See G. A. Kohut, in *Publications*, No. 9, p. 148

The copy of the handbook from which these lists are taken is stamped with the name of Mosseh de Casseres, one of the married members of the society.

### III.

#### SOME NOTES ON JEWS AMONG THE INDIANS.

In the year 1839, the committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the conversion of the Jews sent a mission of inquiry to the Jews, which travelled through Europe to Italy, thence to Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Roumania, Galicia, Poland and Germany, finally returning to London. The four clerics who made up the commission were Andrew A. Bonar, Robt. Murray M'Cheyne, Dr. Black, and Dr. Keith. They have left an interesting and accurate narrative describing their travels, which gives valuable historical facts as to the condition of the Jews in every district that they visited. This narrative was given wide publicity at the time, it being published in Philadelphia early in the forties by the Presbyterian Board of Publication. The four clergymen met Sir Moses Montefiore in Palestine several times,<sup>4</sup> and had interesting conversations with him. Sir Moses in his diary,<sup>5</sup> recalls meeting the clergymen, and it is instructive to read the parallel accounts of the meetings in the Christian and Jewish diaries.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 141 *et seq.*, 232, 320.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. I, pp. 179, 190.

<sup>6</sup> The missionaries are full of praise of Sir Moses' generosity and kindness, and they express admiration of his Biblical knowledge. We read that beneath the shadow of Mt. Carmel, "Sir Moses and Dr. Keith frequently walked on the beach conversing on the prophecies that had been fulfilled in the desolations of the land, a subject to which the former had evidently paid a good deal of attention; but he positively declined all reference to the New Testament. During the greater part of Saturday, although the heat was excessive, he and his lady and a medical attendant, who

The only item in the narrative of American interest occurs at the beginning. On page 4, the Jews of Boulogne are described, and it is related how

In the evening, however, we were visited by a very interesting Jew, a person of education and agreeable manners, who spoke English fluently. He told us his history. Originally possessed of a small fortune, he had exhausted it in travelling for the sake of his brethren, having gone to North America, to investigate the question whether or not the Indians there are really the descendants of the ten tribes. He had lived a year among the Winnebagoes and Micmacs, learned the Cherokee and Oneida languages, conformed to their manners, often living almost naked, and in order to ascertain that question, which he did not hesitate to decide in the negative. He was now spending his time in retirement, with the view of being able to recruit his resources so as to undertake new journeys among his brethren in other parts, and especially in Palestine.

I know nothing further of this Jew, and it is doubtful if it is possible to find further trace of him now. Possibly he was French.<sup>7</sup>

The information here given justifies us in placing his residence among the Indians in the region about the great lakes,

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was a very bigoted Jew, went through the Jewish service, with scrupulous attention."

So wrote the missionaries of Sir Moses and Dr. Loewe. Sir Moses, speaking of the same visits and conversations, writes that "The time passed so agreeably to all that these visits were frequently renewed." Later at Safed, the missionaries found difficulty in engaging the Jews in conversation, because the Jews "had heard from some of Sir Moses Montefiore's attendants that we were come for the purpose of making them Christians, and had been warned to enter into no discussions."

<sup>7</sup> A search in the early numbers of *Archives Israélites*, which was first issued in 1840, or other periodical literature of the time, such as *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1837 et seq.), *Allgemeines Archiv des Judentums* (1839-43), *Jost's Israelitische Annalen* (1839-1841), *Der Orient* (1840-1841), *Kerem Chemed* (1833-42), etc., might reveal further facts about him.

probably on the Canadian side. The Winnebagoes, Indians of Siouan stock, are at the present day settled on the United States side of the lakes, in Wisconsin, in the basin of the Missouri and the Mississippi, Louisiana and the Carolinas. But the Micmacs, of Algonkian stock, are centered around the Canadian great lakes and Hudson Bay. Furthermore, he is said to have learned the Cherokee and Oneida languages. The Cherokee and Oneida Indians are both of Iroquoian stock, the former being settled in the area around Lakes Erie and Ontario, the St. Lawrence, the latter on the River Thames, in Ontario and Wisconsin.

In this connection, attention may be called once more to the Jewish Indian chief, who lived at Laguna in Valencia County, New Mexico.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A general account of him under the name of Nahum Blanberg is given in *The American Hebrew*, 1909, p. 82, *et seq.*, by J. Fuchs. On page 143 of the same volume, Philip Cowen states that he is in possession of the real facts about this Jewish Indian chief, but that for personal considerations he is not free to publish them at present.

In *The Jewish Chronicle*, August 13, 1880, page 7, occurs the following history: "An American paper reports that during the recent march towards the White River of the troops commanded by General Merritt, they came across the naked corpse of a man, who was recognised by one of the soldiers as being that of a Jew named Isaac Goldstein, and known in these regions as 'the Jew.' Whilst still a young man and when living in one of the cities of the East, Goldstein was engaged to a Jewish girl whose brother formed part of one of the first bands of emigrants who went to seek their fortunes in California. Whilst there, he fell dangerously ill, and his sister, the betrothed of Goldstein, on learning the sad news, proceeded to California to nurse him, but on the road was captured by savages, who offered up her body as a sacrifice. Goldstein was informed of the tragic occurrence, but he would never believe that the Indians had killed his intended wife. His firm impression was that she was being kept alive by the Indians, and for ten years he wandered through the country of these savages

in search of her. Eventually, wearied no doubt by the questions Goldstein constantly asked them, the Indians put him to death."

Attention may also be called to a Hebrew poem written by B. N. Silkiner entitled *Mul Ohel Temurah*, which was published in Jerusalem, 1910-1911. It deals with the American Indians in the time of the Spanish rule in America. A review of the poem is to be found in *Ha-Deror*, Oct. 6, 1911, p. 107 *et seq.* J. Fenimore Cooper's "The Last of the Mohicans" has been translated into Hebrew by J. B. Levner, and published in Warsaw in 1896, and more recently (1910) "Jehoash" has translated Longfellow's "Hiawatha" into Yiddish. Philip Kranz published in New York, 1904, a book in Yiddish entitled "Amerika vor Columbus," dealing in part with the Indians. For the sake of bibliographical completeness Abraham Cahan's Yiddish history of the United States may be mentioned. These few works apparently exhaust modern Jewish literature dealing with the Indians, except for the many scattered articles and references to the Indian-Israel theory.





## NOTES.

### JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND JOSEPH HUME.

On April 17, 1833, Robert Grant successfully re-introduced his Bill for conferring upon English Jews full civil rights and privileges. Successfully, however, only in so far as the House of Commons was concerned; another quarter of a century had to elapse before the House of Lords acquiesced.

In the course of the 1833 debate, some references were made to America; and it has been thought that these might usefully be recorded in the *Publications* of this Society. Attention has already been called to the matter in the volume containing Macaulay's Essay and Speech on Jewish Disabilities, edited by the Rev. S. Levy, M. A., and myself for the Jewish Historical Society of England (ed. 1909, p. 67; ed. 1910, p. 69).

In his speech as reported in *Hansard* (3rd series, vol. xvii, col. 236) Macaulay appealed to the precedent of the United States of America. But it was Joseph Hume who more emphatically employed the argument. He produced in the House a letter from John Quincy Adams; and, though he abstained from reading it, he cited its substance. Hume had represented Middlesex from 1830, and he was in frequent correspondence with the leaders of liberal opinion. In *Hansard* (*ibid.*, col. 242) the relevant passage in Hume's 1833 speech runs as follows:

He should give the Resolution his most hearty support. He held a letter in his hand, though he would not trouble the House by reading it, from Mr. Quincy Adams, the late President of the United States, stating that there were no better citizens than the Jews, and expressing a hope that ere long the whole of Europe would see the justice and the wisdom of freely conceding to them the fullest political privileges.

The other contemporary records of the House of Commons debates confirm this report. The *Times* of April 18, 1833, briefly cites Hume's allusion to America. But the *Mirror of Parliament* (edited by John Henry Barrow) gives, under date April 17, 1833 (p. 1276), a fuller passage, which it may be worth while reproducing in supplement to the paragraph from *Hansard*.

Look to other countries—look to France—look to America. I have a letter in my hand from Mr. Quincey Adams, in which he bears testimony to the advantage of the admission of the Jews to civil rights, and declares that no set of men can be better subjects. He also expresses a hope that other

countries throughout Europe will follow the example of the United States which have admitted Jews to a participation in the rights of free citizens. I give my cordial support to the motion; and I only hope that the measure will be carried by a triumphant majority, both here and elsewhere.

Hume's hope regarding "here" (the House of Commons) was fulfilled, but "elsewhere" (in the House of Lords) it was doomed to disappointment for the time being.

At the present moment when American action on the Russian Passport question bids fair to influence European policy, it is peculiarly appropriate to recall this earlier instance of the reaction of the New World on the Old. When we add, among other things, the important influence exercised by American conditions both on the Resettlement of the Jews in England in the seventeenth century and on the European emancipation in the eighteenth, it may fairly be claimed that America has played no unimportant rôle in the history of the Jews of other countries.

I. ABRAHAMS.

Curiously enough, John Quincy Adams, who was a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts after the expiration of his term as President, held any but friendly opinions concerning the Jews. This fact is made manifest by passages from his secret diary, published after his death in 1848. The letter to which Hume referred cannot be identified among the Adams papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Nor has it been found among the Hume papers in England.

F.

#### NOTES FROM WILLS OF THE FAMILY OF MASSIAH OF BARBADOS.

Probated 1742, 11 Octr. DANIEL (Town of St Michael) Merchant.

Dated 25<sup>th</sup> August, 1742. ["I commend my Soul to the Mercy of Almighty God"]. His eldest son, Jacob Massiah, has been blessed with "a plentiful fortune." *Sons*: Mordecai, Abraham, Samuel, Isaac, Jeremiah (his son, Daniel), Simon. *Daughters*: Angela Da Costa (Angel de Cortwall); Esther Baruch; Debora Fonseca. *Witnesses*: Thomas Clarke; Richard Skinner; Jacob Da Costa.

Probated 1749, Novr. 20<sup>th</sup>. JUDITH. Will dated 17<sup>th</sup> October 1749.

*Mother*: Sarah. *Niece*, Sarah Guttierrez. *Brothers*: Benjamin, Abraham. *Witnesses*: De Piza, Jacob Fonseca; Daniel Massiah.

Probated 1778—Sepr. 9<sup>th</sup>. JACOB (of London). Merchant—Will dated 3<sup>rd</sup> Feby 174 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Bequests to Portuguese Jews' Societies

- in London. *Father*: Daniel. Mentions "Brothers and Sisters." *Brother*: Jeremiah (late of Barbados), deceased. (His son, Daniel.) *Trustees*: Mordecai Massiah, of Barbados, Merchant; Joshua Machero, of London, Merchant; Charles Channcy, of Cornhill, London, Linen Draper.
- Probated 1776, Decr. 30<sup>th</sup>. SIMEON (Gentleman). S<sup>t</sup> Michael's. Dated 5 July 1775. Six pounds for use of Jews' Synagogue, Bridgetown. *Brother*: Mordecay. *Nephew*: Bauh (Baruch?) Louzada. *Niece*: Sarah M., Spinster, daughter of Abraham and Rachell Massiah, now deceased. *Witnesses*: Jacob Valverde, jr., Aaron De Lyon, and David Valverde.
- Probated 1782, March 8<sup>th</sup>. ESTHER (Widow) S<sup>t</sup> Michael's Town. Dated 11 Jany. 1782. *Sister*: Sarah Belinfante (S<sup>t</sup> Michael's Town). *Witnesses*: John P. Thomas; Moses Lopez; Daniel Da Costa.
- Probated 1786, March 13. BENJAMIN (S<sup>t</sup> Michael's). Dated 11<sup>th</sup> March 1782. *Wife*: Esther. *Sons*: Simeon, David, Jacob, Mordecai, Isaac, Judah. *Daughter-in-law*: Rebecca, Wife of Jacob. *Witnesses*: Daniel Elder, Jacob Valverde, Emanuel de Piza, on Probate Daniel Elder was sworn on the Evangelists.
- Probated 1787. Novr. 6<sup>th</sup>. SIMEON (S<sup>t</sup> Michael's). Merchant—12 Octr. 1787. Interment to be "after the Custom and Ceremonies of the Jewish Nation, and be laid in white linen; and, that a decent stone may be placed over my grave." Ten pounds to the wardens of the Jewish Synagogue, for the use of the Synagogue. *Godson*: Benjamin Massiah, son of Jacob Massiah, of S<sup>t</sup> Michael's Town. *Father*: Benjamin, late of Barbados, deceased. *Mother*: Esther, Widow of S<sup>t</sup> Michael's Town. *Wife*: Sarah. Mrs. Sarah Barrow, Wife of Baruch Barrow. *Witnesses*: Roderick Barrow, Mordecay B. Massiah.
- Probated 1788—April 14 DAVID (S<sup>t</sup> Michael's), Shopkeeper—Dated 15 July 1785. Interment to be according to the usual form of the Hebrews. Ten pounds to the Synagogue of Bridgetown. *Wife*: Sarah, formerly Sarah Aboab, Spinster. *Niece*: Esther Massiah. *Witnesses*: David Brandon, Samuel R. Dunkley, Abraham Brandon. Abraham Brandon, "made oath on the first Book of Moses."
- Probated 1790, March 2<sup>nd</sup>. WILLIAM, Senior (S<sup>t</sup> Joseph's). Dated 29 Novr. 1788. This is a Holograph Will; not attested, but admitted to Probate. *Wife*: Dorothy Peters Massiah. *Sons*: William Benjamin Massiah; William Nesfield Massiah. *Daughter*: Elizabeth Rebecca. *Grandsons*: William, and

Alexander McLean, sons of Daughter, Mary McLean, wife of Daniel Howes McLean. *Grand-Daughter*: Sarah Ann McLean. *Others mentioned*: Charlotte, Ann, and Harriet King, *alias* Massiah; William McLean, senior, and Alexander McLean. *Executor*: Friend, John Stewart.

Probated 1791, March 1<sup>st</sup>. ISAAC (S<sup>t</sup> John) Farriar. Dated 14 Jany. 1791. *Wife*: Mary. *Daughters*: Sarah Moore Massiah, Rebecca Massiah, Elizabeth Rose (widow); Dorothy, wife of William Wilkinson. *Sons*: Christopher, William, John Mitcham, Abraham Howard. *Executor*: "My friend the Honorable Richard Haynes." *Witnesses*: Edward Squires, William Ashley.

Probated 1795, Sept. 18<sup>th</sup>. ESTHER (widow), S<sup>t</sup> Michael. Dated 10<sup>th</sup> August 1795. *Son*: Judah. *Daughter-in-Law*: Abigail Massiah, widow. *Witnesses*: Isaac de Fonseca (sworn on Books of Moses), John Thomas Rogers.

Probated 1796, Feby. 24 SARAH (S<sup>t</sup> Michael). Dated 8 Feby. 1796. *Brother*: Emanuel de Piza. *Legacies to Valverdes*: Abraham Isaac, Rebecca. *Witnesses*: Roderick Elder, Henry Hutson (Doctor?).

Probated 1799, April 9<sup>th</sup>. JACOB (S<sup>t</sup> Michael), Shopkeeper. Dated 14 Feby. 1799. *Interment to be according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Hebrew Nation*. *Wife*: Rebecca. *Executor*: Lewis Cohen, Merchant. *Witnesses*: Ham Alexander Chase, and Jacob Joseph Levi. The latter was "sworn on the Books of Moses."

N. DARNELL DAVIS.

A NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT OF AN AUTO DA FE IN LISBON IN  
1726, IN WHICH A JEW, A NATIVE OF BAHIA,  
SOUTH AMERICA, WAS BURNT.<sup>1</sup>

*Lisbon, October 14.* Yesterday a Publick *Auto de Fa* was held in this City; in which thirty nine Men and thirty two Women were tried for various Offences; Two Men and one Woman were sentenced to be burnt. One of the men, named *Antonio dias Fernandes*, a Merchant of this City convicted of Judaism, was pardon'd on his Recantation; the other, being a priest named *Manoel Lopes da Carvalho* a native of the *Bahia*, forty four Years

<sup>1</sup> From *The New York Gazette*, No. 67, From February 6 to Monday February 13, 1726[-7]. At New York Society Library.



old, was executed at Four o'Clock this morning being burnt alive: He obstinately persisted in his Opinion, which was, *That Christ came not to destroy the Law of Moses but to perfect it; and that Circumcision was as necessary as Baptism.*

At the Place of Execution he was told it was not yet too late for Mercy, if he would Renounce his Errors, and own the Doctrines of the Inquisition; but this he absolutely refused, saying, *The Inquisition were not Christians, but Idolators.* He suffered with great Resolution amidst the Flames, calling upon the God of *Israel.* The Woman of sixty five Years of Age convicted a second Time of Judaical Practices, was strangled, and afterwards burnt.

*Extract of a private Letter from Lisbon, dated the 17th of October, N. S. 1726.*

We had lately an *Auto de Fa* here, and a Priest was burnt alive. As one of the Familiars of the Inquisition carried me into the *Dominican Church* to hear his Sentence read I had the Curiosity to go afterwards to see Him burnt. They first put a slow fire, to see if he would Recant, and then they would have strangled him at once, and put him out of pain; afterwards, in the fiercest time of the Flames, they removed the fire to ask him *If he would Recant?* but could get no further out of him than, *Executioner, do as you are Ordered,* and once he cry'd out, but without Vehemence, *Accept this Humble Sacrifice thou God of Israel.* His Heresy was professing, *That Christ came to Perfect, not Abolish the Law of Moses, and that therefore Circumcision and Baptism ought both to be observed.* When they prest him at the Tribunal to Recant, the King offering him Impunity for past Errors, and even Reward, for the future, He said, He had not bore Tortures, Reproach, and lastly, a publick Gazing Stock for any less View than Salvation which was beyond all the Gifts that Earthly *Kings* could Give, and with that kiss'd his Habit, which was all Painted with Flames, and said, he rejoiced in Gods having Chosen him for a Martyr to the Law of *Moses* and of *Christ,* says he, *Rome may reign in Portugal Forty Years longer, but then the true Church shall be set up in Jerusalem.*

During the twenty Minutes that he was alive at the Stake, He did not once Change his Countenance, nor give the least loud Cry. He only some times shrank up his Leggs, and put his Handkerchief to his Scull and Chin, till it was burn't away; He looked to the Kings Window, and round about upon the Mob, with an Air of a Man that had been sitting in an easy Chair. I say, he lived about

twenty Minutes, and in Three Quarters of an Hour the Stage on which he was raised, was burnt down; however, as they say here, his Body was not burnt to Ashes, till nine in the morning although the Execution begun at half an Hour after three: this was on the 13th Instant and 14th in the Morning. I never saw a Creature in their Bed dye in so calm resign'd and intrepid a Manner.

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

#### ADDITIONAL JEWISH GRAND MASTERS.

Since the appearance of "A List of Jews who were Grand Masters of Masons in various states of this country" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, p. 95 *et seq.*, I have obtained additional data, on this and cognate subjects, as follows:

Louis Cohn, of Salt Lake City, was Grand Master of Utah from November 12, 1873, to November 10, 1874. A biographical sketch of him was published in the *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Utah for 1902, p. 81 *et seq.* He was the first Deputy Grand Master of the Jurisdiction.

Harry Arizona Drachman, of Tucson, "the first native-born Arizonian to become Grand Master," was the head of Arizona Masons for the period 1912-1913. Louis Block was Grand Master of Iowa, 1911-1912. Jacob Lampert, of St. Louis, was Grand Master of Missouri, 1912-1913.

I have noted the mention of Gustave Daniel Levy, of New Orleans, La., as a Past Grand Master of Masons, but have been unable to ascertain the full particulars of his Masonic career.

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In connection with the paper of Mr. Samuel Oppenheim (*Publications*, No. 19), Miss Rebecca E. Mitchell, of New York, called my attention to the fact that Michael Marks, one of her ancestors, was a member of Hiram Lodge, No. 72, of the Town of Mount Pleasant, N. Y., in 1803. This fact is attested by his Masonic certificate dated June 29, 1803. Michael Marks was born November 11, 1761, at Tower Hill, London, Eng., and died February 11, 1829 at Philadelphia. His wife was Johaveth, the daughter of Moses and Rachel Mears Isaacks, and their marriage took place at Newport, R. I., October 11, 1786, the celebrant being the Rev. Abraham Riveira. Johaveth Isaacks Marks was born June 17, 1767, at Swansey, Mass., and died January 17, 1852 (Tebeth 25, 5612).

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

# JEW IN NORTH CAROLINA IN COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

The publication of the "State Records of North Carolina" has brought to light an additional, new name of a Jew resident there in Colonial times. This is a Mr. Laney, who resided in America as early as 1760.

His name appears in connection with charges brought in 1784 against Edward Clay, a member of the Legislature of North Carolina. The charge was that Clay had stolen money from the counter of a grocer named Haryon. The testimony pro and con is set out fully in the minutes of the legislative committee for the expulsion of Clay. To offset Haryon's testimony, Laney was called as a witness to show that Haryon himself was a rogue and unworthy of belief. The following extract from the testimony may be of interest:

Mr. Tisdale being sworn :

Mr. Haryon is an industrious man, there have been a very great quarrel between him and Mr. Laney [here it is to be noted that Mr. Laney was sent for to give testimony] I have seldom known quarrels rise so high. Mr. Haryon is very attentive to his business. A Mr. Belcher from Virginia dined with me some time ago, he told me he had met with an acquaintance here Mr. Haryon. He said Mr. Haryon had lived at Cabin Point and said he, he is a very honest man. As for himself I never heard Mr. Haryon's character aspersed by any man except Mr. Laney. Mr. Laney is a Jew. I think Mr. Laney would be an improper witness here. I am confident he is prejudiced against Mr. Haryon. Mr. Haryon bears the best character of the two. I have heard Mr. Laney accuse him of theft among other things.

Mr. Haryon being sworn :

Yesterday morning a gentleman came to my store. I did not know his name. He asked the price of coffee and put his naked hand on the counter on the money lying on the counter, he then drew his hand up with the money in it; I then took hold of his hand, opened it and took the money from him. I showed him to Mr. Martin. I thought he was an Assembly man. I ordered him out of the store upon which he went off. . . .

Mr. Laney, a Jew, was sworn.

Q. What is the character of Mr. Haryon?

A. I have been acquainted with him from about six months after I came to America. I was in partnership with him two years.

Q. Did he cheat you?

A. He did.

Q. Do you think him a rogue?

A. Certainly. I can prove it. I have been acquainted with him ever since the year 1760.

Q. Will he tell the truth?

A. I think a man who is a rogue in one thing is a rogue in everything. ("State Records of North Carolina," vol. xix, pp. 784, 785.)

The Laney above mentioned was possibly Joseph Laney who figures in the North Carolina records during the Revolutionary War. Thus in 1779 appears the following bill:

North Carolina furnished to United States. Joseph Laney for beef, £9. (*Ibid.*, vol. xxii, p. 1014.)

LEON HÜHNER.

### AN EARLY AMERICAN HEBREW-CHRISTIAN AGRICULTURAL COLONY.

Had it not been that the scope of my paper on "Some Early American Zionist Projects," in No. 8 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, was extended to the very furthestmost limits of the meaning of the term "Zionist Projects," that paper would have afforded a good opportunity for calling attention to another curious early project for bringing the poor and persecuted Jews of Europe together in one colony, where they would enjoy equality of rights and privileges in this New World. The explanation for the exclusion is that the colony in question was intended for converted Jews only and was promoted by American societies for the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Nevertheless, the project has present-day interest for us, both historically and as a progenitor of our present American Jewish agricultural activities, and the conversionist explanations of the lack of Jewish activity in agriculture have been independently formulated in very similar terms by Jews in our own day. It is remarkable that the number of branch organizations of this so-called American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews should have been so very large in the early 'twenties of the nineteenth century; a list of them, published in 1825, includes over 200 societies scattered all over the country, and men of distinction, like Elias Boudinot, John Quincy Adams, General Stephen Van Rensselaer, James Wadsworth and Peter A. Jay, were among the officers of the parent organization. Already in 1824 a committee was appointed by this society to devise and publish a detailed plan for contemplated settlements of Jewish converts, which reported a scheme pursuant to which

the Jews who came to the settlement are to be *principally* employed in agricultural and mechanical operations,  
and

In order to facilitate this object the Board shall procure as much land as will afford a site for the necessary buildings, and the contemplated mechanical and agricultural operations.

Regarding the contemplated settlement, it was provided,

a farm shall be stocked, and furnished with suitable implements of husbandry. The produce of the farm shall be considered common stock for the support of the different members of the settlement; and an experienced farmer shall be placed thereon to manage its concerns. All the members of the settlement are to be considered as a band of brethren, governed by the laws of our Divine Redeemer, and associated together for the purpose of aiding each other in the concerns of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

With respect to the agricultural and mechanical elements of this plan, the second annual report of the board of directors stated in 1824:

It is a matter of undisputed Scriptural History, that no nation was ever more attached to agriculture than the Jews in Palestine; and that it was only for the short period in which Solomon sent his ships from Ezion-zaber to Opher, that they engaged in commerce. And though it must be conceded that since their dispersion, no people were ever so averse from agriculture; yet it must be permitted to assign the true reason, a reason which the objector will not deny, and which will justify us in the course we intend to pursue. It is this: because the Jews *in their dispersion* have almost everywhere been denied the privilege of acquiring and cultivating land. Commerce, therefore, was the only road left open to them, particularly the retail trade, which, as it offers only small and precarious profits, naturally produces a rapacious disposition. The result of a fair experiment will no doubt prove, that in this respect, the character of the Jew, like that of all other men, is the effect of education and of circumstances; and that, they have only to be restored to the privilege of acquiring real estate, a privilege which is secured to them in this free and happy country, in order to revive all that love of cultivating the soil, and all that delight in pastoral occupations, which characterized them on the mountains of Giboa, and the vales of Bethlehem.

Pending the location of a suitable tract for this contemplated settlement, the Society hired a house and three acres of land three miles from New York City

as a place of reception for such Jews as may *from time to time come to this country*, where accommodation will be provided for them, AS ONE FAMILY at the expense of the Society; and whence, AT THEIR OPTION, they may locate on our Agricultural Establishment, or engage elsewhere, in any employment, under the auspices of the Board.

It is interesting to observe that one of the points emphasized why the work of the society deserved encouragement was that

we [the Christian world] owe them [the Jews] too, reparation for the wrongs they have received at the hands of Christians. All the Christian nations of the old world are deep in the guilt of persecuting the Jews; and for this they need national expiation.

The next year, in 1825, the board of directors reported in their third report, that they had leased a farm of about four hundred acres by way of experiment for one or seven years, in the county of West Chester, town of Harrison, State of New York, within thirty-one miles of New York, and three and a half miles from the landing, at Sawpit, on the East River, for the proposed settlement of Hebrew Christians. Measures were taken for the appointment of European agents of the society, as well as other means to acquaint the Jews of Europe with this new colony, with a view to secure their conversion and migration. It is not surprising, however, to learn that one year was all that was necessary to demonstrate the utter impracticability of this scheme, and that the society decided to give up the lease of this farm at the expira-



tion of the first year. Further particulars as to this project may be gathered from the society's "Reports" and from the monthly published by the society for a number of years in New York, beginning January 1, 1823, called *Israel's Advocate, or The Restoration of the Jews, Contemplated and Urged*.

This incident antedates the undertakings considered in Leonard G. Robinson's "Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America," in *The American Jewish Year Book* 5673.

MAX J. KOHLER.

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### THE HEBREW WORDS ON THE TOMBSTONE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD.

The interesting paper on Hebrew Learning and the Puritans read by Dr. Pool at the meeting of the Society in 1910<sup>1</sup> recalled to my mind the fact that the epitaph on the tombstone of the Puritan Governor, William Bradford, in the old cemetery at Plymouth, Mass., begins with a Hebrew phrase. This would seem to offer additional proof, if such proof were necessary after Dr. Pool's treatise, of Bradford's love and esteem for the language in which the books of the Bible were written.

My attention was directed to the inscription by a descendent of the Puritan governor and scholar at whose house I lived during a brief sojourn at Plymouth some years ago.

When I visited the cemetery I therefore sought out the grave of Bradford at once. My hostess in asking me to examine the inscription had stated that the guide books declared the Hebrew words to be unintelligible. I was the first Jew whose acquaintance she had formed although she was a woman of over sixty years of age and she expressed the hope that I might be able to interpret what had always been an enigma for her, her family and her friends.

It is not now known how the Hebrew words came to be chiselled on the tombstone. It may be that Bradford left directions that this be done. After studying the inscription I came to the conclusion that the phrase was a favorite motto of Bradford's and for this reason he or some friend selected it for his epitaph.

The Hebrew inscription consists of three words. The first and third are quite intelligible; the second word is undecipherable in its present state. It seems that some years ago both the English

<sup>1</sup> *Publications*, No. 20, p. 31, *et seq.*

and Hebrew inscriptions on the tombstone, the oldest in the cemetery, were retraced, and in doing the work this second word must have been "repaired" past all recognition. The first word is clearly יהוה, and the third word is equally clearly חיי. The second letter of the second word is apparently ל, the third letter appears to be ר and the first letter seems to be either an א or a צ. Accordingly the full phrase would read either יהוה אור חיי. "The Lord is the light of my life" or יהוה צור חיי. "The Lord is the rock of my life." Or possibly the second word may have been something entirely different. From the fact that the Hebrew Bible, the so-called Old Testament, was so important a factor in the development of the life and thought of the Puritans and from the further fact that they derived much of their strong faith and their inspiration from those incomparable religious hymns, the Psalms, it has occurred to me that we have in this inscription a verse from the Book of Psalms which may have been the life motto of William Bradford. Now in the first verse of the twenty-seventh psalm occur the words, יהוה מועז חיי. "The Lord is the strength of my life." The first and third words of the inscription correspond with the first and third words of this expression of the Psalmist; the second word which is unintelligible and unrecognizable, we can readily imagine to have been the second word of the Biblical sentence. In truth the inscription is more likely to have been a quotation from the Bible than an original expression.

The Plymouth cemetery, known as Burying Hill, is the oldest in New England and as far as I know in the country. The inscription on Bradford's tombstone contains the only Hebrew words in the cemetery. This Hebrew inscription in any of the three possible interpretations presented above is indeed expressive of the faith of the brave and sturdy men who faced the dangers of the deep and came to an unknown land with the hope of finding a home where they could live and worship according to the dictates of their conscience. In all truth, the light, the rock, the strength of their life was their God who had brought them safely to that haven by the sea, the first home that this land offered to the men whom we honor as the fathers of American liberty, the pioneers who laid the corner-stone of our free institutions.

DAVID PHILIPSON.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE ON FRANCIS SALVADOR.

In *Publication* No. 9, pp. 107-122, the present writer gave a sketch of Francis Salvador whose distinguished career was previously unknown to writers on American Jewish history, and who was perhaps the only Jew who sat in a Provincial Congress during the Revolution. In that paper it was mentioned that he resided in South Carolina with his most intimate friend Richard A. Rapley.

The recent publication of the records of North Carolina shows that both men figure in these records also, and that Rapley as well as Salvador was a Jew.

In "State Records of North Carolina" (vol. xxii, p. 182) appears "A Journal of Col. David Fannings's Transactions during the Late War in America from the year 1775 until the Peace."

From this it appears that Fanning was a British officer who, at the outbreak of hostilities, endeavored by advertisements and otherwise in various parts of the colony, to win the people for the King. In the course of his narrative he says:

We all went to meet two Jews by name Silvedoor and Rapely, and after making many speeches in favour of the Rebellion and used all their endeavours to delude the people away, at last presented Revolution papers to see who would sign them; they were severely reprimanded by Henry O'Neal and many others. It came so high that they had much adue to get off with their lives. The Rebels then found that we were fully determined to oppose them. They began to embody in the last of said month to compel all to join them or to take away our arms. Our officers got word of their intentions. . . .

Here follow accounts of several skirmishes with the American Rebels. Salvador was killed in 1776.

LEON HÜHNER.

LETTERS, ETC., OF DAVID FRANKS, SAMSON AND MOSES LEVY,  
OF PHILADELPHIA.

The following, unpublished letters and autograph documents, were written by three worthies of early Philadelphia Jewry. The originals of the first two are in the Henry Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hon. William Henry having been for some years a partner of Joseph Simon, of Lancaster. Much has been said concerning them in the *Publications* of this Society. The material, herewith presented without comment, was contributed by John W. Jordan, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a corresponding member of this Society.

PHILAD<sup>a</sup> July 6<sup>th</sup> 1789.

Mr. Joseph Simons  
Sir

M<sup>rs</sup> Hamilton's respects to you, & wishes to know the Situation of her boy Sam, if Sold or a prospect of it, tis certainly Strange Such Silence about it, & has an odd Apearance, & the offer M<sup>r</sup> Etting made of a Child & not a Slave, was thot an unfair dealing or offer even by his freinds & Acq<sup>ns</sup>, theres been two aplications Lately one offer of £45 Cash down & the £50, to be p<sup>d</sup> in two payments goods half, but could not bargain not knowing anything about him, but if not Sold hope you may Soon, as would not chuse to have him in town, Nunes offer'd the £45 Cash, So hope you mag gett as much or near that Sum,—am told that a person w<sup>d</sup> give a £100 or more for the Land at 9 Mile Run (Metcalfs') Ive Severl Letters from diferent people & from you describeing it the best of Lands, Thompsons Amongst them, & Doct<sup>r</sup> Smith Says choice Land & he wanted it—& Etting Say's very bad, & offer'd only 30£ which is very diferent from every other Acco<sup>t</sup>, I've Lately made enquiry & ours is the first Survey & Location.

I wish you health & every Other happiness

Being ———

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> freind & h<sup>i</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

DAVID FRANKS.

\* \*

PHIL<sup>a</sup> Sept 4<sup>th</sup> 1789.

M<sup>r</sup> Jos<sup>b</sup> Simon's  
D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Your favor of 2<sup>d</sup> handed me this Morning with a Power Attorney to Sign Respecting J<sup>b</sup> Eicholts Mortgage I've Signd & D<sup>e</sup>i the Bearer, I make no dowbt tis proper, had have not time to Examine L & F<sup>r</sup> Books,—Observe what you Say & have done about Trents Affair's no dowbt tis for the best, And would advise a Strick'd examination if our Mortgage was Prior to the Sales he made to others or prior to those advertized against the Sales, they Some pretend to say they Suplied him with Cash, but must not believe all on a bare Say, therefore Lett a proper enquiry be made, & not be jugled out of our rights, have been deceived & Cheated enought by that Damm'd Scoundrell Trent, therefore be carefull in y<sup>r</sup> enquiry's with Some proper persons help. As for Sam, M<sup>rs</sup> Hamiton wishes him sold at £40—but not for Stoves, she nor

her freinds not in the Line of Selling them, I sh<sup>d</sup> think your Iron Mongers w<sup>d</sup> be glad to buy him, or a farmer, Barr Iron Makers,— I've the gout in my hand fla'neld up & write in pain, therefore conclude wishing you health & y<sup>r</sup> desires being D<sup>r</sup> Joseph

yrs very much

D. FRANKS.

\* \*

Sir

You wrote me a Day or two since to inform you what Judg<sup>ts</sup> were against M<sup>r</sup> A. Butler. also what length of time the Bail can procrastinate the same without being liable?

In Answer to which I will mention. that information of this Nature will be more accurately as well as satisfactorily Obtained by application to M<sup>r</sup> E. Burd's Office. I wish therefore, to decline further xxx<sup>1</sup> Exertions in Cases of this kind, in Order that Others, who may affect more Zeal for M<sup>r</sup> Butler's interest than ~~may~~<sup>2</sup> myself, shall enjoy a Portion of Profit and Merit——

Yours &<sup>c</sup>

SAMSON LEVY

11<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1799.

M<sup>r</sup> Standish Ford.

\* \*

CHESNUT STREET June 28. 1806

Dear Sir

The weight and Importance of the claim made on you by M<sup>r</sup> Aquila Bolton and others entitle it to a much greater degree of consideration and attention than it ever hitherto has reed from you. Had the Cause been brought to Trial at the present Term, your ~~Claim~~<sup>3</sup> defence must have been sacrificed for want of due preparation. I pray you for your own sake to see me before the ensuing Term ~~and~~<sup>3</sup> to search for all the papers and vouchers necessary to elucidate the Justice of your opposition and to take all those precautions without which the Truth of the fact cannot be made to appear.

very truly yours

MOSES LEVY

M<sup>r</sup> John Read

<sup>1</sup> Undecipherable character stricken out of MS.

<sup>2</sup> This word is stricken out in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> This word is stricken out in the MS.



Dear Sir

The Cause of Bolton & Laforgue against your late house of Reed and Forde is markd for Trial this week and stands early on the List. I shall be glad to see and converse with you Soon concerning it and am

Your m<sup>o</sup> obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Chesnut Street June 15. 1807.

MOSES LEVY

M<sup>r</sup> John Read.

\* \*

It will be perfectly practicable and safe for M<sup>r</sup> Paleske on behalf of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Navigation to discharge M<sup>r</sup> John Read out of Custody under the Ca. sa<sup>4</sup> by which he is at present confined in prison. The mode of doing this will be by procuring from the Sheriff a return of non est Inventus to that Ca. sa. This must be done, after a written request by M<sup>r</sup> Read to M<sup>r</sup> Paleske for that purpose. Such a request, accompanied with an agreement never to plead his confinement under that writ against any Subsequent Execution under the same Judgment, will bind M<sup>r</sup> R. forever and effectually secure the Canal Company.

Jany. 18. 1808.

MOSES LEVY.

\* \*

The assignees of M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Wilcox

To Moses Levy Dr.

1792 To Counsel given at different times and

1794. writings drawn .....£7.10.0

#### NOTES ON EARLY JEWISH SETTLERS OF BALTIMORE.

It is a generally recognized fact that the Jews were late in settling in Baltimore City, although, as Dr. Hollander has shown, "ye Jew Doctor" Lumbrozo came and caused quite a stir in Southern Maryland about 1660. Isaac Markens, probably relying on a statement in Griffith's "Annals of Baltimore," identifies in his "Hebrews in America," one Jacob Myers as the earliest Jewish settler there (1756), but Miss Henrietta Szold in her carefully prepared article on "Baltimore" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ii, p. 478, doubts his religion, and Isidor Blum, in his "Historical Sketch" of the Jews of Baltimore (1910), gives as the

<sup>4</sup> Capias satisfaciendum.

reason that a few years later one, bearing this same name, was an elder in the First German Reformed Congregation. One Joseph Myers, identified with a Deputy Inspector-General in Scottish Rite Masonry by the same name, presumably was a Jew at Richmond, Va.; but I fear that the one at Baltimore was an elder in a German Reformed Church. One other name in a selected list of Jews of the period turns out to be similarly conspicuous in Protestant Christian churches. While the population of Baltimore Town in 1790 was only 13,503, yet the list of Mr. Oppenheim (*Publications*, No. 19, p. 55 *et seq.*) points out 24 Jews as conspicuous in Masonry at Baltimore at that time. The mere possession of an Old Testament surname, or of a patriarchal given name or both, hardly would be conclusive evidence; historical accuracy requires something better, and apostates surely have no place in the list.

I have applied the usual test to the names, using the directories of Baltimore Town and the Birth, Marriage, Death and Burial Registers of old St. Paul's Church as my guides. Thus one might say that Mordecai M. Mordecai, first described as a distiller and then as a "gentleman," was surely a Jew; but that Samuel White and Isaac Phillips both ship captains, were not Jews, nor do I think it conclusive evidence of Jewishness, not to be in attendance at church with one's lodge; that is the reason why Daniel Barnett is pointed out as a Jew. Similarly one William Jacob is named as a conspicuous light in Masonry; I find he was Register of St. Paul's Parish and so signs the marriage register on June 14, 1779. The Jacobs, whose names appear in the Baltimore directories of the period are as follows: Bartholomay Jacobs, carman, Joseph Jacobs, hack-carriage-maker, also captain of the watch; William Jacob, sailmaker, also ship carpenter, and another William Jacob, a sailmaker; Simon Jacob, laborer; Patty Jacob, washerwoman. None of these Jacobs I should say, were Jews. Moses Jacobs kept a dry-goods store; he must have been a Jew for a time at least. For in that rare little book "Memoirs of the Dead and Remembrancer," Baltimore, 1806, I find that he had a wife, Esther, and their son was Michael; while alongside of his epitaph is the letter "J" probably referring to his burial place in the Jewish cemetery. Samuel Jacobs was elected Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M., at the same session on June 23, 1798, as Hyman Samuel was elected Grand Steward, the last undoubtedly, a Jewish name. I find a Samuel Jacobs at this period a tailor. I doubt if the Grand Lodge of the period at Baltimore would elect two Jews to high offices at the same session, and

as William Jacob was so conspicuous an official at St. Paul's and as I find on the marriage register of St. Paul's also William Jacob, son of Zachariah Jacob of Anne Arundel County, a farmer, who was married to Mary Monk on July 19, 1772, I seriously doubt if this Samuel Jacobs was at that time a coreligionist of ours. "Block" appears to be well accredited; there was a Jacob Block and also a Levi Block, grocer, here then. Davidson David may pass muster; not so Abraham Larsh who hailed from Elkton (Cecil County), where there never have been any Jewish settlers. Benjamin Solomon and Hyman Lowenstein are good Jewish names and although mentioned in the selected list of Masons of the period I find neither in the directories of the day. Nor are Jacob Lewis and B. Wolfe there; but these are not even distinctively Jewish names. Jacob Wolf is given the occupation of a bricklayer; hardly a Jew because few of our coreligionists followed this occupation at that period. Nor do I find Modinay or Suberon; yet neither of these is even a distinctively Jewish name. The Phillips there found are measurers of grain and two of them are shipmasters. The evidence in favor of William Hayes' being a Jew is not convincing. The Hayes family of Philadelphia and Norfolk was distinctively Jewish; we have never had such a family at Baltimore among the Jews. One William Hayes, Jr., is given as a physician in 1796; if a Jew, his name would have been distinguished like Lumbrozo's. Another William Hayes appears in the directory of 1801-1802 as a blockmaker, and at that time Jews in our parts had nothing to do with shipping; John Hayes was a painter. As to B. Wolfe or Benjamin Wolfe, the evidence is that "Benjamin Wolfe and Miller" were bakers and grocers, while Rebecca Wolf was a washerwoman living on French Street, so named from the colonists who had just come up from St. Thomas in the West Indies. Sam White was a ship captain as I have pointed out; if he had lived at Newport, where Jews owned much shipping, I might have classed him as a Jew; not so here. Isaac Mordecai is a brother of Mordecai M. Mordecai, *supra*; he is a tobacconist; the name is sometimes spelled Mordecea. In the "Memoirs of the Dead," Zepporah Mordeica, died on April 6, 1806, aged 69 years; "J" is printed alongside her name and this may refer to her burial among Jews. Now as to John Tobias, conspicuous as a member of a Richmond Jewish Congregation. The Tobias family did come up to Baltimore, but it was not until the time of the Civil War. There is no doubt about the Jewishness of both Jacob Hart and Solomon Etting. This makes up the list and not all of the 24 can be vouched for as surely Jewish.

The names of Isaac Cohen, Francis Mordecai, Manuel Mordecai, appear in the list of the dead, and Ann Israelo, daughter of Sarah Israelo (also spelt Israello) among the living. Harriet Newman, daughter of Sarah Abrahams, George Benjamin, Angell, Sarah, Edward, Isaac, and Jacob Israelo are registered among the births for 1740. Benjamin Myers was married in March, 1794; all this appears in St. Paul's Register.

From "Memoirs of the Dead and Remembrancer," I find as to the aforesaid Myers and Jacob: Rebecca Myers, wife of Jacob Myers, died on October 13, 1779, aged 39 years, and was buried in the German cemetery. Maria Myers, daughter of Joseph and Catharine Myers, died August 20, 1802, aged 3 years, and was buried in the same place. William Myers, son of Jacob and Rebecca Myers, died on September 2, 1784, aged 13 months, and was buried in the same place. The epitaph contains a reference to Christ. From the "Archives of Maryland" (vol. xxviii, Publications of the Maryland Historical Society) among the Proceedings of the Council of Maryland for 1742, I find: Benjamin Jacob and Mordecai Jacob were present at a meeting of the vestry at the chapel and pews were assigned to them. Samuel Jacobs was reported to have fled to the back parts of Virginia and Maryland. So reports Gov. Penn to Gov. Sharpe (*ibid.*, vol. xiv). In the "Memoirs of the Dead and Remembrancer," *supra*, I find two good Jewish names; Mrs. Rachel Levy, who died November 11, 1794, aged 55 years, and Benjamin Levy who died February 3, 1802. Mrs. Levy's name appears in the St. Paul's register; she was buried in an Episcopal cemetery.

Still being buried in a Christian cemetery proves nothing; my father tells of his giving burial according to the full Orthodox ritual of Levy Collmus, in Greenmount Cemetery, hard by the grave of Edwin Booth. Collmus was among the settlers at the beginning of the century, and was one of the charter members of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1829.

Mr. Mendes Cohen directs my attention to the omission from the list of Masons of that period of his two kinsmen by the same name, but he did not give me their names or the dates of their membership.

The name Block suggests the family history of a very old family which I have procured for the Society from Hon. Myer J. Block, Chief Judge of the Orphans' Court of Baltimore City.

Simon Block, the progenitor of the family, came from Delmenhorst, in the Duchy of Oldenburg, to Maryland in 1798 (1799), and

settled in Baltimore. The names of his two sons, Jacob Block and Levi Block, appear in the Baltimore City directories of the period; in 1803, they were grocers on Aliceanna Street.

Simon J. Block, a son of Myer Block, arrived in Baltimore about 1820 and settled at Belair, Harford County, removing off and on to the city and dying there in 1869. He was a deputy sheriff during the Bank Riots of 1837. His eldest daughter, Henrietta Block Wyman, was born in Belair, Md., and his other children, S. S., Hanna, Lion, Myer J. and M. S. Block, were born in Baltimore and still reside there.

Levi Block, brother of Simon J. Block, lived in Baltimore from 1826 to 1840, moving to St. Louis, Mo., and remaining there till his death in 1872; he was a civil magistrate there.

Myer J. Block has been connected with the Orphans' Court of Baltimore City for over 30 years and, since 1899, has been chief judge of that court.

Yet another branch of the family, spelling its name Blogg, settled in Baltimore, too.

Block (formerly called Queen) Street, in that city, was named after a branch of the family, Judah Block, a cousin of Simon J. Block, having built the first house on the street; a daughter of the former married Benjamin F. Jonas, at one time United States Senator from Louisiana.

B. H. HARTOGENSIS.

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#### A LETTER OF DAVID S. FRANKS.

PHILADELPHIA 27th March 1780

Sir

I take the Liberty of applying to your Excellency to be informed whether I am not considered entitled to the Emoluments granted by the honorable House of Representatives of this State to the Officers of the Continental Army Subject thereof.

I was born in this Town & have ever held myself (tho' absent a few years) Subject to this State.

I humbly conceive my claims on the Score of Services, not entirely without foundation.

As many Officers of this State now in this Place can vouch that I have made Sacrifices and that everything in my Power was done for them, while in Canada, and that my good Offices and Purse were ever open to them, at a time when they had neither friend or money, if your honorable Board will please to hear me



on this Subject I make no doubt, but I shall convince them of the justice of this my request.

I have the honour to be

Sir &

With Respect

Your Excellency's Most Humble

DAV<sup>d</sup> S. FRANKS <sup>1</sup>

His Excellency Joseph Reed Esq<sup>r</sup>

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

# JEWISH SIGNERS TO A PATRIOTIC ADDRESS TO CONGRESS IN 1783.

Shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War, great dissatisfaction prevailed in various divisions of the Army owing to the failure of Congress to pay the troops. In June, 1783, soldiers in Pennsylvania had mutinied and about June 21, while Congress was in session at Philadelphia, the mutiny of the soldiers there became so alarming that Congress hurriedly left or rather fled from Philadelphia to Princeton, N. J., where it continued its sessions.

The period was one of the most trying and Robert Morris, the financier of the day, mentions the government's embarrassment due both to the want of money and the lack of public support.

The citizens at Philadelphia at first seemed indifferent to the departure of Congress, but after a few weeks their attitude changed and early in July, an Address of Loyalty was drawn up, a draft of which, after receiving the approval of Robert and Gouverneur Morris, was circulated for signature. Thomas Paine declared to Washington that it was signed by the principal merchants and inhabitants of the City. This address in part reads as follows:

The Address of the Citizens of Philadelphia and of the Liberties thereof. To his Excellency the President and Congress of the United States.

Most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sirs:

From the Commencement of the Late ever Memorable Contest for liberty and the honor and happiness of the human race, the Citizens of Philadelphia and of the Liberties thereof, have in an especial manner distinguished themselves by every exertion which principle could inspire or fortitude support.

Neither have they been free with their lives only as Militia but with their fortunes as Citizens. As instances of these we need only appeal to facts.

The Progress of the War has fully confirmed the one and the monthly return of taxes from this State, of which the City and Liberties form so

<sup>1</sup> Original inserted in extra-illustrated copy of "A Military Diary During the Revolutionary War From 1775 to 1783," by James Thacher, M. D., in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet in 1911.

great a part has not been exceeded by any, and we wish they had been proportionally equalled by every State in the Union. . . .

Here follows an account of what had been done by Pennsylvania, concluding:

And as we have ever been, so we mean ever to continue to be among the foremost to establish the National Character of America as the firm basis of inviolable faith and sacred honor. . . .

We do not amuse the World with calling on Congress to do Justice to the Army and to the creditors of America and yet withhold the means by which that Justice is to be fulfilled. On the contrary we freely offer ourselves to bear our share in any National measure to effect those purposes and to establish the character of America equal to her Rank.

We are now most solemnly to assure your Excellency and Congress that though we do not enter into the reasons or causes which might suggest to your Honorable Body the propriety of adjourning at the particular time you did adjourn from your long accustomed Residence in this City, Yet as a Testimony of the Affections of the Citizens to that Union which has so happily succeeded in accomplishing the freedom and independence of America, We beg leave to assure Congress that if either now or at any future time, until the Residence of Congress shall be permanently established, it should appear to your Hon<sup>ble</sup> Body that the situation of Philadelphia is convenient for transacting therein the concerns of the Nation, that Congress may Repose the utmost confidence in its inhabitants, not only to prevent any Circumstance which may have a tendency to disturb their necessary deliberations but to aid in all measures to support the National Honor and Dignity.

This Address has several hundred signatures, among them some of the best known citizens of the day. The following are the names of Philadelphia Jews whose signatures appear with the rest:

|                |              |
|----------------|--------------|
| Haym Salomon   | Isaac Franks |
| Sol Marache    | Isaac Levy   |
| Jonas Phillips | Isaac Moses  |
| Moses Levy     | Moses Cohen  |
| Jos. Israel    | Seymour Hart |
| Jacob Simpson  |              |

There also appear the names of Jacob Esler and Philip Stein, but I am not certain whether these were Jews or not.

The address and signatures may be found in the "Papers of the Continental Congress," vol. xliii, p. 333, and in "The Continental Congress at Princeton," by Varnum Lansing Collins, Princeton, 1908, pp. 79, 85-88, 263.

LEON HÜHNER.

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### THE JEWS IN BARBADOS IN 1739. AN ATTACK UPON THEIR SYNAGOGUE. THEIR LONG OATH.<sup>1</sup>

By a Letter from *Barbados* dated *August 1*, we have an Account That an ugly Affair happen'd there a few Days ago; A young Man

<sup>1</sup> From Bradford's *The New York Gazette*, No. 725, October 1 to Monday October 8, 1739. At Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

who goes by the Name of *Burnet*, and says he is a Son of the late Governor *Burnet* happening to be at a young Jew's Wedding, whose Father was name *Lopus*, this *Lopus* made very much of him, and being at Dinner *Burnet*, as his Name goes, complain'd of the Head Ach: whereupon *Lopus* advis's him to step to his House hard by and lye down. Accordingly he accepted and went: About half an Hour after, *Lopus* with five or six of his Companions came and took him by the Collar, strip'd him, and gave him several Blows on the Face, and charged him with robbing him of some Money which so surpriz'd him that he could hardly speak: Upon this the People of Speigh's Town in which they were all in uproar. And tho' the Jew was not able to fasten the Theft upon the young Man yet a Justice bound him over to the Grand Session; and the Jew is sued by the said *Burnet* in two Actions of 10,000 l. And the Leeward People have upon this Occurrence been so irritated, that they rais'd a Mob and drove all the Jews out of Town and pull'd down their Synagogue. The Jews have thereupon got together at *Bridge*, Resolving to have Satisfaction: they being generally pretty Rich, 'tis reported they will be protected by one of the greatest Men in the Island.

The young Man above mentioned must certainly be an Imposter, neither of the late Governor *Burnet's* Sons being in that part of the World.

This uncommon Accident having happened in *Barbados* the Court has thought proper to swear the *Jews* by the long Oath, as it is call'd by the *Jews*, which is as follows, viz.

*By the holy Name Adonijah, God of my Father Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and by the Ten Commandments, which by his Divine Mouth were given on Mount Sinah. I Swear to speak the whole Truth, without Reservation: and in case I Swear false in all or any part, from this Time let my Soul be damned to all Eternity and never enjoy the happiness of Heaven; and let my Body be Tormented with the Plagues of Egypt and be confounded as Korah and his Company and as Sodom and Gomorrah, and let all the Curses that are written in the Laws of Moses Excommunicate me and find me out, and work in me the bitter Agonies aforesaid, and that I may be Excommunicated from the Congregation of Israel for ever and Ever AMEN. &c.*

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

## NECROLOGY.

### ABRAHAM ABRAHAM.

Abraham Abraham who died on June 28, 1911, aged 68 years, deserves a prominent place in American Jewish history. He was born in New York City, and his lifetime was spent there and in Brooklyn. At the time of his death he was at the head of the firm of Abraham & Straus, one of the best known of the large department stores in this country; the development and growth of this great enterprise was due largely to his sagacity and energy.

He was recognized as one of the foremost men of Brooklyn. A leading newspaper of that city said:

In his death Brooklyn loses a great merchant, indeed; but she loses, also a most intelligent philanthropist; a keen thinker, a devoted citizen, and a leader of local sentiment who never led in the wrong direction.

His sympathies were not bounded by creed or nationality. No important public measure failed to receive his active and substantial support; he was prominently identified with practically every public enterprise to promote the general welfare; he was officially connected with probably every general educational and philanthropic institution, although he was most modest and unobtrusive in his benefactions.

The great esteem in which he was held was evidenced by a public meeting of the most prominent citizens of Brooklyn, held to testify to his worth, which gave an expression of sorrow at the great loss of the community in his death. He had deservedly won a reputation as a philanthropist. He acquired the unique and important library and collection of Professor Eisenlohr of Germany, the renowned Egyptologist, and this he donated to Cornell University.

He was the most prominent member of the Jewish Community of Brooklyn, and stood out as its most representative Jewish citizen.

He was largely instrumental in the organization of the Jewish Hospital and of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and was active in the affairs of the Congregation Temple Israel, having been president of these institutions.

He was a Jew by religious faith and conviction; while this did not carry with it strict observance of olden customs or the rigorous compliance required by ancient usage, he was earnest and active in all things Jewish. His sympathies and co-operation were not limited to local affairs and activities. He was connected with and interested in national Jewish organizations; he was the temporary president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, at its council in New York, in 1911, at which he delivered a notable address.

As his great success in the business world gave evidence of his commercial ability, so his character as a man of the highest honor and integrity, filled with exalted ideals, was the manifestation of a lofty and ennobled spirit, and his life's work was a demonstration of practical ideas in the aid and uplifting of his fellowmen.

Governor Dix in an address to the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, in November, 1911, said of Mr. Abraham:

His singular purity of character, his greatness of heart and mind, his love for humankind without limitation of race or creed, his philanthropies and splendid achievements constitute a heritage which enriches the annals of the city and State, and for all time to come afford an inspiring example of high purpose and noble living.

SIMON W. ROSENDALE.

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HERMANN ADLER.

One of the notable papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887 was entitled "The Chief Rabbis of England." The author of this paper was himself destined to



make history as one of the most influential of all the Chief Rabbis of England. For it was read by Dr. Hermann Adler, then Delegate Chief Rabbi to his father Nathan Marcus Adler, whose health was failing after forty-two years as Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire. On the death of Nathan Marcus Adler in 1890, Hermann Adler stepped into the vacant position by right of birth, by right of twelve years' experience as assistant in the British Rabbinate, by right of broad secular scholastic attainments, and above all, by right of deep Hebrew learning absorbed from the teaching of his father, the author of a valuable commentary to the Onkelos Targum, and from his other teachers, Barnett Abrahams, the learned Dayan of the Pevis Marks community, Dr. Marcus Kalisch, the Biblical scholar, Michael Sachs, the preacher-poet, Prof. Wolfgang Wesseley, jurist and theologian, and Solomon Judah Loeb Rapoport, Rabbi and founder of the scientific study of Jewish History.

As Chief Rabbi of England, Hermann Adler, though looked up to as master of all the Jewish communities throughout the British Empire, was the slave of his office. No burden however trivial or onerous did he shirk. He linked the provincial communities in the British Isles to the metropolis by regular pastoral tours. He presided over the Beth-Din with unfailing regularity. He dedicated synagogues and institutions; preached and lectured times without number; acted with members of the Royal House, the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, or the Bishop of London, in representing the Jewish Community before the general public; conducted an enormous, world-wide correspondence; served as president of Jews' College; wielded a trenchant controversial pen when the good name of the Jew was attacked; guided and guarded the character of Jewish religious teaching as vice-president of the Jewish Religious Education Board; attended communal meetings with an astonishing ubiquity; labored unceasingly for the welfare of the poor; interested himself actively in all social problems;

set aside regular time for study; staunchly resisted religious innovations, and devoted himself with a broad-minded and an exemplary conscientiousness to all the arduous and multifarious duties of his office. It was with a living sympathy that he often told of the Scottish clergyman who advertised for a horse to do all the work of a minister.

On May 3, 1909, he celebrated his seventieth birthday, and at the same time his jubilee of service in the ministry. The occasion was made into a communal, and even an extra-communal, celebration, the late King Edward honoring him by creating him Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, and the University of Oxford conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

On Tuesday, July 18, 1911, the Very Reverend Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi, C. V. O., Ph. D., D. C. L., LL. D., passed away in harness, leaving behind him a community which he had steadfastly tried to the best of his power to maintain loyal to the old paths of Judaism.

Autocratic his rule may have been. But one with less learning, less executive ability, or with a weaker personality could never have held untangled all the threads of Anglo-Jewish life as did he, and could never have preserved for the heterogeneous Anglo-Jewish community even a semblance of unity and integrity. Let us here make grateful mention of his earnest and unstinting labors which have conferred upon the Jewry of the British Isles a spirit of conservatism, and a dignity and distinction in the eyes of the outside world.

A word should be added relative to his interest in Jewish history. In 1896 and 1897, he was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England, where he gave as his presidential address a survey of Anglo-Jewish History, printed in the third volume of the *Transactions* of the Society. He wrote further a full account of the wonder-working Rabbi Falk, the Baal Shem of London, and in 1894 he uttered an eloquent expression of "Homage to Manasseh ben Israel," printed in the

first volume of the *Transactions*. In his paper on "The Chief Rabbis of England," printed in the publications of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, he urges the theory that the title *Presbyter Judaeorum* found in English records prior to the expulsion in 1290 points to an officially recognized Chief Rabbi. Although there is no evidence that the *Presbyter Judaeorum* exercised Rabbinical functions, his was an official position, analogous to that of the Chief Rabbi, in so far as he was appointed by the King as an official head of English Jewry.

Dr. Adler's historical studies were all of value; and to his interest in and encouragement of the work of the Jewish Historical Society of England a considerable share of its success may fairly be attributed.

D. DE SOLA POOL.

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WILHELM BACHER.

The death of Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, Rector of the Jewish Seminary at Budapest, a corresponding member of this Society, has created a gap in the ranks of Jewish scholars which will not soon be filled. With us, who witnessed his growth, who admired his many-sidedness, who were in the habit of consulting his learned productions extending over all departments of Jewish *Wissenschaft* and cognate subjects, and who hardly dared write upon a single subject without looking up first whether we had not been anticipated by our great contemporary, Bacher almost ceased to be a person. He became in himself a learned institution, and the sensation called forth by his death is such as a Frenchman, for instance, would experience if the French Academy would suddenly disappear from the face of the earth.

To give the titles of all the productions Judaism owes to the genius of Dr. Bacher is impossible. It will suffice to refer here to the *Bibliographie der Schriften Wilhelm Bachers*, published by Prof. Dr. Ludwig Blau, on the occasion of Dr.

Bacher's sixtieth birthday. It covers 64 pages, and not less than 611 numbers are recorded there. They embrace almost every department of Jewish *Wissenschaft*, and were written in almost every European tongue, including the Hungarian, besides a considerable number of articles composed in Hebrew. The number of complete works is 45, whilst that of the learned periodicals to which he contributed amounts to 46. The variety of subjects with which he dealt is enormous, and an analysis of it would cover several pages. His contributions, especially to Persian literature, would in themselves have been sufficient to make the fortune of a student.

Many of Bacher's contributions have now become standard works, and no scholar, writing for instance on Jewish exegesis or on Jewish Grammarians, would dare put down anything in writing before he first made a thorough study of Bacher's *Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik*, and *Bibelexege der jüdischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters vor Maimoni*, and a number of other monographs on various Jewish grammarians and exegetes. The same thing may perhaps be remarked of certain branches in purely Jewish history, of which it may also be said that he was to a certain extent the pathfinder. It is no exaggeration to say that he was the most productive scholar and many-sided writer since Grätz.

The great work, however, on which his fame will rest, and by which he will be best remembered, is represented by his *Agada der Tannaiten* in two volumes, and his *Agada der Palästinensichen Amoräer* in three volumes. This was a masterpiece never likely to become obsolete or improved upon. It was a revelation of the Jewish soul as it manifested itself in the homiletical literature of the Rabbis. What the larger world knew of it was a few extracts exhibited with hostile purposes by certain Christian polemical writers. Dr. Bacher never made the slightest attempt to apologize for the Rabbis. He was convinced that if their work were only presented in a scientific manner, free from all controversial tendencies convey-

ing nothing else but the real meaning of their dicta, it would in itself be the best defence of Judaism. Christian scholars were with the aid of Bacher enabled to make the acquaintance of whole generations of Fathers of the Synagogue whose literary remains were by no means inferior to those of the Fathers of the Church, indeed, very often superior, and in all cases having the virtue of brevity and directness and being absolutely free from dogmatic artificialness.

This work must have occupied him a great number of years, which is not to be wondered at considering the vast amount of material extending over more than five centuries, and hailing from different schools, and scattered over a large number of folio volumes, lacking system and order, and provided with no indices. All this he had to collect, to sift, and to bring into some sort of system. He had also to be constantly on his guard, as a conscientious scholar should be, not to be carried away by a certain class of commentators who, ingenious and edifying as they may occasionally be, often fail to give the true sense of their author. Sometimes he had also to deal with textual corruptions and variant readings, to which he had no other test to apply but that of the philologist. The labor must thus have been something tremendous, but the reward was greater, for he lived to see his book the standard work for the Agada which no theologian of note, whether Jewish or Christian, could afford to miss in his library. And as a lover of Judaism he must also have considered as a reward the fact that with the spread of his books, the use of the polemical works just indicated, even by Christian scholars, grew less and less with every year, and that even Webber's work on the theology of Palestinian Judaism is now less quoted than it was a generation ago. Everybody felt that in Bacher one had the guide one was seeking.

I have said of Bacher that he was to us less a person than an institution of learning: this implies his impersonal aspect, which indeed made him the most impartial of critics or authors.



And this was another reason for the willingness with which students accepted his dicta, knowing as they did that he had no other object in view but the truth. But I should not like to be understood that this was also a feature conspicuous in his relation to his friends and acquaintances. There he was the most modest of scholars and the most amiable of men, ever ready to serve his friends and to show them kindness. Distance deprived me of the occasion to meet him as much as I wished. Our relations were confined to correspondence. But I shall always be grateful to God for the opportunity I had last summer (1913) of paying him a visit in Budapest. He was already suffering from the malady which proved fatal. I shall never forget the kind reception he gave me—he and the *Frau Professor*—endeavoring to make my stay in that city as comfortable as possible. He was still working on his proofs which he insisted on finishing. He could not live without work, and perhaps would not live without it. When parting with him, I had the sad feeling that it meant parting forever. He will still be with me, as I am sure with all Jewish students, a cherished memory, and his voice will continue instructing us for generations to come, as his activity in general will always be a blessing for Israel at large.

S. SCHECHTER.

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DAVID BLAUSTEIN.

David Blaustein was born in Lida, Province of Wilna, Russia, May 5, 1866. He was the youngest of six brothers and next to the youngest of nine children. His parents and grandparents were small tradespeople in Lida, were in poor circumstances, people of narrow vision and commonplace. Blaustein at a very early age, however, apparently gave promise of rising above his surroundings, and stirred in his parents a hope in his future. He seems to have been the unusual child that Mary Antin in "The Promised Land" characterizes as the pride of

a Russian Jewish family to whom every educational advantage, at whatever sacrifice, must be given. Accordingly at five years of age he began his education in the local cheder, and until he was eighteen studied in the Talmudic academies in Lida.

At about that age a Yiddish novel of Nahum Meir Shaike-witz, or Schomer, fell into his hands and inspired in him a desire for wider knowledge than the schools of Lida afforded. He fled from Russia and settled in a town in the eastern part of Prussia, where his knowledge of the Talmud secured for him a position as Hebrew teacher in a small congregation. Not a native of Prussia, he was permitted to remain only a short time, was driven to seek another home and went to Mecklenburg to attend a Rabbinical Seminary. There he came under the influence of the famous Jewish scholars, Israel Lipschild and Dr. Feilchenfeld. He remained in Mecklenburg for two years. Ordered to leave because he was a Russian subject, he sailed in 1886 for America.

A knowledge of the conditions of the New York Ghetto had reached him, and fearing its narrowing influence, he in the early part of 1887 settled in Boston where in the Jewish quarter he opened a Hebrew and German school. He very soon became active in the educational and communal work there, and though his struggle to obtain a livelihood was most severe, he felt that his future lay in work among the immigrants of his own kind. In 1889 in a realization that in order to do effective work he must develop himself, he entered Harvard. During his first college year, he was unable to devote himself entirely to his studies because in order to support himself he was compelled to continue his teaching in Boston. Professor David G. Lyon, of the Semitic Department of Harvard, in reply to an inquiry concerning his knowledge of Blaustein's career at college, writes as follows:

I find from the college records that Mr. Blaustein was a student at Harvard for six years, beginning in 1889. In his first, fifth, and sixth years he seems to have done only partial work, giving, as I

seem to remember, a good deal of time to other work outside of college.

I think it was in his second year, 1890-91, that I made his acquaintance, for in that year he chose two courses with me. I was attracted to him first by his interest in Semitic study, and secondly by the brave effort he was making to get a western education. At home in Russia he had enjoyed but slight opportunity to become acquainted with modern liberal ideas, and he found at Harvard what he had so long been dimly feeling after.

His first interest here was Semitic and German. In the last three years it was more English, Economics, and Philosophy, a change which may be considered prophetic of the special work which he was to do in life.

As student Blaustein was distinctly better in languages than in other subjects, winning As and Bs in nearly all his language courses. But his choices show that he knew where his deficiencies lay, and that he made faithful efforts to remove them.

The qualities which he manifested here were openmindedness, docility, industry, eagerness to learn and to become useful. These qualities he exemplified after leaving us also, and it was a pleasure to me in our occasional meetings to note how he kept on growing and what delight he found in his work. I last saw him in Boston in May of this year (1912), and heard from him at the banquet of the Menorah Society a most enthusiastic account of the great work with which he was then connected in Americanizing immigrant Jews, and in finding suitable homes for them in various parts of the country.

Blaustein received his Bachelor's degree with the class of 1893. During his college course he had always been compelled to support himself. Some time during the autumn of 1892, the president of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David, Providence, R. I., which was seeking a Rabbi, accidentally heard of Blaustein in Boston, and learned that he was making his way by giving religious and Hebrew instruction. The ritual of this congregation was moderate reform, and Blaustein was engaged to teach and conduct services with the privilege of attending to his studies at Harvard three days a week. A year later he was elected Rabbi of the congregation and remained there about four years.

During his residence in Providence he systematized the charity work among its Jewish congregations, and introduced the novel feature of inviting professors from Harvard and Brown Universities to give lectures. He also arranged with several Christian ministers in Providence to exchange pulpits, and in this way brought the Jewish community into agreeable prominence, incidentally securing for himself recognition as an important and influential factor in the community. He was appointed on the Rhode Island State Charity Board, was invited to lecture at Brown University, and was for a time assistant professor in Semitic languages at Brown.

In 1896 he came to New York to take the position of Superintendent of the Educational Alliance, and for ten years devoted himself day and night to its work. His accurate knowledge of the mentality and character of the Jewish immigrant enabled him to secure in many directions effective and permanent influence and to broaden the scope of the work at the Alliance, as well as to dispel from the Jewish population of the lower East Side a feeling of distrust of the Alliance, the origin and reason for which the previous incumbent could not comprehend. He realized years ago the dangers that lurked in the congested and unsanitary homes of the Ghetto, and through his intimate acquaintance with the silent forces there at work, initiated a number of movements to counteract them. The organization of a janitors' association was one of the methods that he contrived to alleviate conditions.

His own limitations were an open book to him, and despite the fact that his strength lay in the direction of educational and moral work, he endeavored to carry on the executive direction of the Alliance as well. That his health suffered was no surprise to him nor to his friends. Despite warnings, he continued to spend even as much as eighteen hours a day at his work, denying himself all recreation and social intercourse. He finally broke down and resigned, took a rest and on his recuperation became manager of the Jefferson Bank, of New

York. A year later he was invited to Chicago as director of the Chicago Hebrew Alliance which was then forming. There he spent two years, and resigned, discouraged at conditions he could not overcome, only when the building of the Alliance was burned to the ground.

He returned to New York, and shortly thereafter, at the request of a friend and admirer, who paid him an annual salary and supplied his travelling expenses, he undertook a special investigation of the scattered Jewish population in the smaller communities throughout the United States. His purpose was to determine on a plan for establishing social centers to attract the Jewish population from the large cities and thus increase their distribution among the small communities by the organization of centers for educational and communal endeavor. He was thus compelled to spend much of his time in travelling throughout the West, so arranging, however, that he was able to accept an invitation to give a course in immigration at the School of Philanthropy in New York.

In September, 1911, he married Miriam Umstadter, who had been one of his students at the School of Philanthropy.

Blaustein was one of those rare and unusual men—the pure altruist, whom Spencer distinguishes from the ego-altruist. To use Spencer's term, his was "unmixed altruism"—lavishness of time, effort, money—generosity unalloyed, undebased. He had no thought of reward. He gave of himself unstintingly, even when warned that he was spending himself at a dangerous rate.

For several years prior to his death, his physical condition called for a husbanding of his strength, and when confronted with the alternative of decreasing the drain on his vitality or succumbing, he said:

I would rather die as a result of continued effort in my chosen life work, than spare myself for a long life of indulgent semi-activity,

and he paid the penalty.



Blaustein died suddenly at the summer camp of the Young Men's Hebrew Association and the Educational Alliance on August 26, 1912.

Blaustein came to this country at the age of eighteen, a narrow-minded Polish immigrant. He died at the age of forty-six as thoroughly imbued with the American spirit and patriotism as a "Mayflower" descendant. It is difficult to determine at just what period in his career he felt the inspiration to devote himself to the Americanization of those who had grown up in the same surroundings as had he. The influence that he came to exercise on the lower East Side was great because he understood its population so well. This influence he used with a full realization of its strength, but with rare judgment and great self-control.

As said Professor Sabsovich at the joint memorial meeting of the Educational Alliance and the Society of Jewish Social Workers:

Being himself an immigrant, Blaustein understood the problems of other immigrants.

JESSE ISIDOR STRAUS.

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GEORG CARO.

Georg Caro, one of the corresponding members of this Society, died at his home in Zürich, Switzerland, on January 16, 1912.

He was born in Silesia on November 28, 1867, and pursued his professional studies in history at the universities of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden; Munich, Berlin, and Strassburg. A doctor in philosophy Georg Caro may be properly denominated a disciple of the historical method of the celebrated Harry Bresslau.

In the year 1896 he came to the University of Zürich as tutor (*Privatdozent*) in history, and from that day until the

hour of his death he filled this position. His lectures dealt with the subjects of diplomatic, the political and economic history of the middle ages and of modern times, and with special topics in the history of Switzerland.

Three important publications emanated from his pen during the brief span of his life, which did not cover even forty-four years. The first of these is his work "*Genua und die Mächte im Mittelmeer, 1257-1311*" in two volumes, of which the first appeared at Halle in 1895, while the second followed four years later. The second was his well-known and epochmaking "*Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit*," the initial volume of which was published at Leipzig in 1908 as one of the "*Schriften, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*." He was engaged on the preparation of the concluding division of this work at the time of his sudden death and had left the second volume, covering the modern period, practically concluded. Although as yet unpublished, it is announced that it will shortly be issued by the above-mentioned society.

Georg Caro was especially interested in the constitutional and economic history of the German-speaking countries of Europe from the beginning of the middle ages. The third of his larger works comprised a considerable number of essays and special studies in this field, and bore the title "*Beiträge zur älteren deutschen Wirtschafts- und Verfassungsgeschichte*." Two series of these studies or contributions to knowledge were published at Leipzig; the first in 1905 and the second in 1911. His death cut short his plan of making use of these essays as the basis of a new and special treatise on German constitutional and economic history.

Besides the foregoing he wrote innumerable book reviews for sundry learned publications, and brief accounts of the older Swiss cities and districts.

Georg Caro never rose to higher academic rank than that of tutor, although it is stated that the authorities of his uni-

versity had proposed to recognize his talents and ability by suitable preferment when his demise supervened. He was survived by his wife, his aged parents, and a young daughter, and around his bier memorial addresses were made by Dr. Arnold Meyer, Professor of Theology and *Rector Magnificus* of the University, and by Herr Gerold Meyer von Knonau, Professor of Philosophy. These and other brief memorial notices were privately printed as "Ein Gedenkblatt," early in 1912, by his widow.

Dr. Caro took a profound interest in the work of the American Jewish Historical Society. He esteemed his corresponding membership in it to be an honor, and, in a letter to the writer dated January 12, 1912, only four days prior to his death, promised to contribute a paper to one of its meetings. That letter contained references and brief data concerning Gabriel of Salamanca, an interesting figure of early modern times, whose Jewish affiliations are well worth studying, despite the fact that they are somewhat nebulous.

Georg Caro was a loyal Jew, for which reason he particularly devoted his thought and pen to tracing out the details of the history and the changing fortunes of the Jewish people.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

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#### BERTHA RAYNER FRANK.

Bertha Rayner Frank was born in the city of Baltimore on July 16, 1847. She was the daughter of the late William S. and Amalie Rayner, and the eldest of five children, two of whom, George W. and the Hon. Isidor Rayner, who at the time of his death was United States Senator from Maryland, predeceased her.

She was educated privately, first at Streeter's school on Charles Street in Baltimore, and afterwards at a school in Catonsville. The influences of her home life directed her

mind to communal and religious affairs, which engaged her attention throughout her life. Her father was deeply interested in the religious and charitable progress of the community. He was one of the incorporators and first president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Baltimore. He gave the ground and building for the original Hebrew Orphan Asylum of that city, and was at one time its treasurer; he was incorporator and for many years president of the Har Sinai Temple, the first Reform synagogue in Baltimore. The eager young woman early became imbued with a strong religious feeling, which strengthened with the years, and she learned, too, to look upon the poor, the unhappy, and the restricted with a sympathy that was perhaps her most striking characteristic.

On December 16, 1869, she married Dr. Samuel Leon Frank, a young physician of broad interests, and like herself deeply concerned with Jewish affairs, but a shadow passed over their lives after a few years when Mrs. Frank's health became impaired. In 1878 the couple went abroad with a number of Baltimore friends, partly to consult specialists in regard to her health, and the trip was filled with happy incidents. When she returned, it was to become an invalid and a sufferer for the rest of her life.

A period of nearly four decades of invalidism and pain would produce at best a blank of life and history for most persons; for Mrs. Frank these years became filled with interests of all kinds, with large things done for the city or state or for the welfare of Judaism, with a sympathetic attempt to reach the needy, whether that need was for education, amusement, raiment, or bread, with warm friendships and keen appreciation of her friends' achievements, which she followed with such happy ardor and so much good human feeling. It was a revelation to many who met her for the first time, or only occasionally, to discover in the invalid a person completely alive to and fully informed on private and public affairs, and the doings great and small in the community.

The freshness of her interests never slackened. Almost to the very last moment she was eager to examine and weigh any new project placed before her, and her openness of mind was matched by her keenness of perception. She was a woman of strong mental traits, quick to discern, wise in judgment, definite in desires, direct in statement. Had her health remained unimpaired, this sketch would have been of one who had left the mark of a vivid personality in many directions on the larger Jewish affairs.

Mrs. Frank's mind remained young and supple even in advancing years. She not only welcomed the new, but grasped its meaning quickly, and allied herself promptly on the side of progress. Thus in spite of her numerous private and personal charities which she maintained to the last, she was an enthusiastic supporter of the Federated Jewish Charities of Baltimore, and when it was formed, sought to make her subscription as large as any that was obtained. She believed in, urged and supported organization, though she never thought of confining her gifts in this one channel.

As illustrating the quickness of her perceptions, her relations to the Daughters in Israel may be cited. When in 1890 an organization that had as its principal object the personal service of Jewish women in the interest of their less fortunate sisters was suggested, she took up the plan with enthusiasm, and when the Daughters in Israel was finally formed, she became its guardian angel, and maintained her unflagging interest and enthusiasm in the organization and in its work. She herself sent out the call for the first meeting, and her father suggested the name of the new organization, and its motto, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." The plan of the work was to form bands of ten for personal service, an idea that now after the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century has become the basis of a great movement. Before the organization of the Daughters in Israel, she had supported the Frank Sabbath School, which is still one of the cherished activities of that



association. When this organization undertook to conduct a Working Girls' Home, the first of the kind for Jewish girls in the country, it was Mrs. Frank who supplied \$5500 out of the \$10,000 necessary to buy the building, and after the death of Dr. Frank, in 1906, it received her further gift of \$10,000. This sum was later used to help to build the fine addition to the Home, at the dedication of which Mrs. Frank made one of her rare appearances in public. Her constant care and attention, extending in this case over a period of nearly twenty-five years, demonstrate how constant and loyal she remained through the changing years, in spite of the fresh demands upon her, and the new problems and causes in which she became interested.

She did not limit her bounty by any narrow principle of distribution. On the contrary, though her early religious influence had been along Reform lines, she became no exclusive partisan even of her own principles. As she once remarked to President Schechter, "There is no time or even real opportunity for quarreling, especially now, when we have to resist a whole world."

She contributed a scholarship annually to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for many years, and to the Hebrew Union College, the William S. Rayner scholarship, and after the death of her husband, the Dr. Samuel Leon Frank scholarship also; both of which she afterwards endowed with the sum of \$15,000. The Johns Hopkins University also received a fellowship, and "her name heads the list of those who donated for the establishment of a permanent fund for the Jewish Chautauqua."

After the death of Dr. Frank, she came into a considerable inheritance from his estate, and soon organizations and institutions began to feel the benefit from the new fund at her disposal, her means having theretofore consisted of the income of the estate left in trust for her by her father. Some of her gifts were:

The Samuel Leon Frank Hospital.

Rayner Frank Loan Fund to the Hebrew Benevolent Society.

A similar fund to a society in Lakewood, N. J.

The Home of her parents (furnished) to the Instructive Visiting Nurses' Association.

Endowed bed for sick nurses in the Hebrew Hospital.

Endowed bed in the Hebrew Home for the Aged.

Maintenance of a playground in High street, Baltimore.

Manual training school for the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

Synagogue in Lakewood, N. J.

Scholarship in the University of Maryland.

Two scholarships in the National Farm School.

Endowed bed in the Nursery and Child's Hospital.

Endowed Maccabean Settlement House.

Mrs. Frank spent a part of the year, for many years, at Lakewood, N. J., and an account of her influence on the Jewish life of that place will give an impression of the force of her personality, and of the strength of her Jewish feeling. When she began visiting Lakewood, it had no synagogue, no organized Jewish life. Characteristically she seized the central weakness of the situation, and built the synagogue herself. She then engaged a rabbi, and out of this beginning came an organized Jewish life, centering in the synagogue, which is now able to engage a student of the Jewish Theological Seminary to come thither every week and conduct the service and the Sabbath School.

It is said that she gave away the entire estate of her husband shortly after she came into possession of it, leaving her with no means outside of her income from the trust fund created by her father; and this income was often anticipated for charitable purposes, so that her own needs had to wait on future receipts of income.

The invalid allowed the needs of others to take preference over her own.

A visit to Mrs. Frank did not mean going into a sick chamber, to enter the world of the shut-in. On the contrary, it meant to meet one who was well informed as to what was going on,

and who could discuss movements and policies intelligently, shrewdly and even wittily. She kept abreast of affairs well enough to hold her own with the many young friends who came to exchange views with her, and who found her modern and progressive, totally without the limitation of interest and outlook that so often is the accompaniment of growing age.

Mrs. Frank had a grounded belief in Judaism that was as comforting as it was unshakable. She had a warm spot for the old ceremonies and prayers of Israel, and spoke of them with love and reverence, though she could be critical enough when they were presented in a spirit of mere partisanship.

Her purpose in life may be summed up in the few words: The determination to devote all the powers of heart and mind and purse to relieve the distress of others. To quote Dr. Schechter:

Her memory will indeed be cherished by all who knew her, and become a blessing for all who will take her life and the self-sacrifice which she made as a model for their life.

Mrs. Frank died in New York on November 22, 1913, and was buried in the Har Sinai Cemetery, Baltimore, November 24, next to her beloved partner in life. She left no children; a brother, Albert W. Rayner, and a sister, Mrs. Joseph L. Strauss, survive her.

LOUIS H. LEVIN.

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NATHAN JACOBSON.

On June 26, 1857, Nathan Jacobson, one of the leading surgeons of this country, was born at Syracuse, N. Y. His parents possessed the fine domestic virtues of our race. The atmosphere of his home was peaceful, religious, cheerful, and industry prevailed. The spirit of unselfishness, of kindness and hopefulness permeated it, and love, unity and harmony were its foundations. His early surroundings were of the utmost simplicity. The struggle for existence was often

trying and severe, but it proved a source of strength, and hastened the development of a virile and steadfast character. It implanted within him the power of self-denial, enabled him to disregard ease and comfort without an effort, sharpened his powers of observation, fired him with noble ambition, caused him to understand and sympathize with his fellowmen, and developed to an extraordinary degree that tireless energy, that ability for concentration, and that thirst for knowledge and self-improvement which made him notable even from his earliest youth. At an age, when in these later days it is considered by some criminal to impose upon the young a sense of coming responsibilities, and when childhood and work are deemed incompatible, in the early hours of the morning before school and in the evening after he had well performed his daily tasks, in summer and in winter, often with only the light of his lantern to guide the path of duty, he delivered to his customers their daily newspapers, and every step brought him nearer to the shining goal of usefulness which he had set for himself. Before he had reached his 'teens the profession of medicine had attracted him, and from that time forth no obstacles, however mountainous, ever discouraged him; no effort was too great; no work too lowly. He was gifted with quick perceptions, an accurate memory, and a conquering will. He was a brilliant and at the same time a patient student, a discriminating reader, and an original thinker. His record in the public schools of Syracuse was long remembered. He was graduated from its High School in June, 1874, and immediately began the study of medicine with Dr. Roger W. Pease, as his preceptor, and in the Medical College of Syracuse University, then but recently established. He denied himself a college education, not because he did not appreciate its advantages, but because he felt that by increased application, by incessant work during the golden hours which others devoted to amusement, he could, as he did, bridge the apparent hiatus. This made of him a life-long student, an extensive

reader in many fields of learning, and bestowed that culture and wide information which distinguished him in after years. On completing his course at the Medical College, he studied under the leaders in European medicine and surgery at Vienna, which was then famous for its faculty, and returning to his home entered upon an active practice in August, 1878, relying upon himself alone, without powerful friends or other adventitious aid or fortunate connections to hasten his recognition. While still a mere boy, his character and ability forced him to the front. He inspired confidence by his thoroughness, and his cheerful though earnest demeanor. His struggles were at an end, but his unflagging industry continued, as did his thirst for knowledge. He was never satisfied with what he had accomplished, or with the triumphs he had gained. He kept pace with the developments in medicine and surgery, and was swift to join in every forward step taken by the science to which he had devoted his life. His predilection soon led him into the domain of surgery, where an iron nerve, faultless technique, marvellous powers of observation, and the skill of a great diagnostician, lifted him into the first rank of American surgeons. This was evidenced by the fact that, in 1901, he was honored by an election to membership in the American Surgical Society, and is witnessed by the recent estimate of his achievements by Drs. Kelly and Mayo, and other admitted leaders in the science and art of surgery. In 1885, he became an instructor in laryngology in the college which had given him his degree, and shortly thereafter was advanced to be the lecturer in clinical surgery. In 1889, he was promoted to a professorship, and at the time of his death was the head of the department of surgery. He was gifted and beloved as a teacher, able and happy to transmit the accumulated store of his knowledge and his ripe experience to his students, and in time he gathered about him a loyal band of disciples. From the first to the last day of his practice, he was a member of the visiting staff of St. Joseph's Hospital, and ultimately became



its chief consulting surgeon. He gave what was best in him to this benevolence, and to that of the Hospital for Women and Children, upon the staff of which he served as a consultant. Not less than a fourth of all of his working hours was cheerfully and conscientiously assigned to the alleviation of the sufferings of the poor. His wise counsel was at the same time sought and unstintingly given in the administrative management of these charitable institutions, and not content with these rare contributions, he bestowed liberally of his means in the furtherance of their objects. He became prominent in all good works of the community. Public honors, which entailed public service, were conferred upon him, and the responsibilities were accepted with that unquestioning civic spirit which characterized him. He was elected alumnus trustee of Syracuse University in June, 1913. He had served as the president of the alumni association of that institution. His fellows frequently placed him in positions of trust in their various professional organizations. His conceptions of the duties of citizenship were of a high order, and led him to sacrifice his leisure by constantly assuming increased obligations for the communal welfare. In the thirty-five years of his practice he made many important contributions to the literature of his science, which were published in the principal medical journals of the country. They were noteworthy not only for their scientific accuracy, for the original research which they disclosed, for the soundness of their conclusions, but also for the clearness, attractiveness and vigor of their style. He also delivered numerous addresses, which never failed to command attention. In his early youth he became skilled in the art of public speaking, and ever after proved to be an incisive debater.

He was a faithful member of the Society of Concord, the oldest Jewish Congregation of Syracuse, for years was one of its trustees, and took an active interest in the advancement of Judaism. When not more than twenty-three years of age, he

became one of the founders of the Jewish Orphan Asylum of Western New York, and continued as one of its board of managers until his death. His labors in that institution gave him an opportunity to display, in still another direction, his philanthropic and kindly disposition, coupled with soundness of judgment and keen business acumen. He came in contact with local Jewish communal life in so many of its phases, that it is scarcely possible to conceive of it without him.

As his boyhood friend, there is much more that I should have been glad to say of this noble, generous, warm-hearted man; of his many unique qualities, his exalted ideals, his fidelity to every trust, the breadth of his intellect, and the depth of his soul, but the limits, to which I am confined, will not permit it. He died on September 16, 1913, while engaged in the performance of duty at the Hospital for Women and Children, in the city which he held so dear, and where he was so truly beloved. It was a fitting but an all too early ending of a life without a flaw, of a career consecrated to the welfare of suffering humanity.

He is survived by his widow, Minnie Schwartz, to whom he was married in 1883, a daughter, Emma, the wife of Dr. Joseph Wiseman, and a son, Gerald.

Life he beheld with vision keen and sure,  
And heart and brain were by one impulse stirred:  
To answer ready, whene'er duty called,  
And thus he answered, when God's voice he heard.

LOUIS MARSHALL.

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ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU.

By the death, in his seventieth year, of Henri Jean Baptiste Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu the world has lost a publicist of great merit and the Jews a true friend. Born in 1842 at Lisieux, he went through the usual academic training and devoted himself to the problems of government, especially in connection

with the relations of State and Church. As a young man during the Second Empire he joined the liberal opposition to Napoleon III, and after the Franco-German War made himself known as one of the greatest living authorities on the history and present condition of Russia, which he had visited in 1867. His chief work on that subject, "*L'Empire des Tsars*," appeared in three volumes between 1882 and 1889, and is supposed to have had considerable influence in bringing about that *rapprochement* between France and Russia which had had so dominating an influence on European politics during the last twenty years. In 1881 he became professor of contemporary history at *L'École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, of which he later became the head.

But there was another work of Leroy-Beaulieu which was even more characteristic of his general position and influence in French political thought. He was that rare combination, a Liberal Catholic, believing at once both in the principles of '89 and the dogmas of his own church. For a long time after the fall of the Empire the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents were opposed to the Third Republic. Leroy-Beaulieu's works on the Papacy and on "*Les Catholiques Libéraux*," the latter of which appeared in 1885, are said to have had much influence in inducing Leo XIII to reconcile the church with the Republic.

It was natural that a man, such as this, should take an interest in the Jewish question when it became a burning one after the attacks of Drumont had made "Jew-baiting" a favorite diversion of the more reactionary school of Catholics. As a Liberal he was opposed to such intolerance. As a Catholic he had the originality to see the fundamental similarities in the position of the synagogue and the church. His Russian studies had made him familiar with the Jewish question in its most violent form, while his association with the Jewish *intellectuels* had made him familiar with the problems presented by the emancipated Jews of Western Europe. He was there-

fore especially well equipped when he, in 1893, published the work that chiefly interests us, his "Israël chez les Nations," which has been translated both into German and English. He discussed there, from the fullness of his knowledge, that peculiar position of modern Israel, with special creed and distinctive historic associations among nations who have been predominantly secularized. The analogy between his own church, scattered throughout the nations and yet combined by uniformity of creed and ritual, and Catholic Israel, preserving its individuality among the peoples of the world, did not escape him.

Leroy-Beaulieu saw that the problem of the Jews was *au fond* a religious one, and was keen-sighted enough to recognize that, so far from the Jews tending to do harm to the Christianity of Europe, the non-Christianity of Europe was doing harm to Judaism and the Jews. It was the undermining of the Jewish ideals by modern thought which was leading to that materialism which was the great danger to modern Jews and, incidentally, to their neighbors. Some of us are, on this point, *plus Leroyaliste que Leroy*, and recognize in his book, one of the most striking warnings given to the Jewish people.

He was a true friend of the Jews, I have said, and he showed it by pointing out to us our faults, the most delicate but the most necessary task a friend can perform. Our materialism, our vanity, our aloofness, all received due castigation at his hands, and this made his recognition of our ability, our patriotism, our philanthropy, the more valuable and trustworthy. Altogether "Israël chez les Nations" has become a classic on the Jewish question. He supplemented this work by one on anti-Semitism which appeared in 1897 at the height of the Dreyfus agitation; and by a more general work on "Les Doctrines de la Haine" (in 1902) in which anti-Semitism is put on the same level as anti-Protestantism and anti-Clericalism, in other words recognizing that anti-Semitism was one form of the whole movement against dogmatic religion in the modern world.

Many of us remember his genial personality when he visited the United States in 1904 and received well-merited attention by representative bodies of Jews. The American Jewish Historical Society honored itself by electing him an honorary member and now joins the world in mourning his loss.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

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MORRIS LOEB.

The Jewish community of the United States is distinctly poorer because of the death of Morris Loeb. His career was all too short. Born in 1863, he had not yet attained his fiftieth birthday. He was educated at Harvard University in this country, and at the universities of Berlin, Leipzig and Heidelberg abroad. At less than thirty years of age, he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in New York University and held that position until a few years before his death, when he resigned it to establish a private laboratory in which to carry on his chemical experiments. His interest in all matters relating to his field of science was profound and continuous. He was connected with the New York Academy of Sciences, the American Chemical Society, the *Deutsche Chemische Gesellschaft*, the American Electro-Chemical Society, the New York Electric Society and the Society of Chemical Industry. He was president of the Chemists' Club of New York, and a generous benefactor to its building fund.

His achievements in science I have no qualifications to recount, but by reason of long association with him in many fields of communal activity, I can speak with some authority of the peculiar value of his work in those fields. His intellect was unusually acute and his education in the most exact of sciences enabled him to bring to the problems before him a trained intelligence of high order. He was the least self-seeking of men, and in all that he undertook was animated by the highest motives. He was among the first directors of the Jewish Agri-



cultural and Industrial Aid Society, and when the work of that organization was entirely pioneer in character, he devoted to it the best that was in him to assure its success. All effort along new lines made a special appeal to him, and he gave prompt and ardent support to the suggestion of the manager of that organization that loan banks should be established among the Jewish farmers of America. His wide cultivation made to him a familiar subject of what to most others was entirely novel, and no small part of the credit for the establishment of these institutions in this country is due to him.

When Aaron Aaronsohn came to America with the news of his discovery of wild wheat, Professor Loeb was quick to appreciate the significance of the discovery and the possibilities of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station which he aided to establish. In like manner, he was among the first to realize the importance of dispersion of Jewish immigrants from New York, and was active in the establishment of the Industrial Removal Office and always interested in the success of its efforts. He was from the time of its reorganization a trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and was one of the founders of the American Jewish Committee.

The Solomon and Betty Loeb Home for Convalescents, a memorial to his parents, of which he was president, made great demands upon his time and service which were always freely given. He was repeatedly president of the Hebrew Technical Institute, a form of philanthropy which, because of its educational features, particularly appealed to him. Shortly before his death, Mayor Gaynor appointed him to the Board of Education of New York City, but his membership in that body was too brief to permit of his accomplishing any notable results. He was a close student of the immigration question, and repeatedly exposed the fallacies of the restrictionist arguments. Especially convincing was his exposure of the misinterpretation which had been put upon the statistics of criminality among immigrants.

Despite the many and varied communal activities in which he was successfully engaged, there was one dear to his heart which he was not enabled to bring to a satisfactory conclusion. He was among the earliest to recognize the importance of federation of the Jewish charitable organizations of New York. His scientific training naturally made him impatient of the waste of time, energy and money involved in the existing situation and he devoted close study and helpful suggestions to its remedy. He did not live to see the suggestions made effective, but when in the near future such a federation shall be established in New York, those who are familiar with all the facts will agree that it will be a fitting memorial to Morris Loeb.

CYRUS L. SULZBERGER.

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#### ADOLPH MACK.

Adolph Mack, third child of Wolfgang and Louise (Geldersheimer) Mack, was born in Germany, December 23, 1835, and died December 25, 1909. He was educated in the University of Hamburg, and in 1851 came to America and located in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he engaged in the hardware business. About 1861 he went to New York City, where he became connected with an importing house, and subsequently became interested in the silk business. In 1878 he came to Raritan, Somerset County, New Jersey, as secretary and treasurer of the Raritan Woolen Mills, also of the Somerset Manufacturing Company, which business had been established by his father-in-law, Lewis Einstein.

In politics Mr. Mack was a Republican and one of the most influential men of his party in Somerset County. He was also one of the most popular, as is testified by the fact that he was twice elected Presidential elector. He was a Mason, a member of the Royal Arch Masons, and an organizer of the Phoenix Club of Cincinnati, and one of the earlier members of the

Harmonie Club of New York, being president of the latter when the corner-stone of the building on Forty-Second Street was laid, December 26, 1866. He married Therese, daughter of Lewis and Judith (Lewis) Einstein, who was born September 24, 1846, and died August 18, 1906. Their children were Alexander W., Lewis C., and Clara L. Mack. He was warmly interested in all charitable work, of spotless character; as a man, honorable; as a friend, loyal; and as a citizen, truly patriotic.

EDWARD LAUTERBACH.

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GODFREY MORSE.

On June 20, 1911, Godfrey Morse died at Dresden, Germany, after a short illness at the age of sixty-five. He had led an active life full of achievement and usefulness, and during many years had been Boston's most prominent Jewish citizen.

He was born on May 19, 1846, in Wachenheim, Bavaria, the son of Jacob and Charlotte (Mehlinger) Maas. He came to this country at the age of eight and attended the Brimmer Grammar School, the Boston English High School, the Boston Latin School, and entered Harvard in 1867. In college, he was an editor of the *Harvard Advocate* and was the manager of the first Harvard crew that was taken abroad to row against Oxford. He graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1870, the first Jewish boy from Boston to graduate from Harvard.

After graduation, he studied law and received the degree of LL. B. at the Harvard Law School in June, 1872. He entered the office of Brooks & Ball, one of the famous old-time law firms of Boston, and supported himself in part by teaching in the Boston Evening High School. Godfrey Morse was admitted to the Suffolk bar, July 22, 1873; to the bar of the United States Circuit Court, October 2, 1874, and to the bar of the United States Supreme Court, February 3, 1879. In 1900, he received the honorary degree of A. M. from Tufts

College. From the time of his admission to the bar until his death Morse practiced his profession in Boston, being latterly associated with Lee M. Friedman and Percy A. Atherton.

During the years 1876, 1877 and 1878, Morse was a valuable member of the School Committee of the city of Boston. In 1882 and 1883, he served in the Common Council, and in the latter year was elected its president. From 1882 to 1885, he was Assistant Counsel of the United States in the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims. On March 11, 1885, he was appointed a member of the Board of Court House Commissioners for the erection of a new court house for the city of Boston and county of Suffolk. In 1896, he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Indianapolis, and in 1897 and 1898 was chairman of the Massachusetts Democratic State Committee as well as chairman of the Democratic City Committee of Boston. His name was frequently mentioned for further political honors. At one time, he was seriously considered as the democratic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, and when the new eleventh Congressional district was first organized, he was the first person that his party turned to as its candidate. But Mr. Morse was unwilling to accept either nomination on the conditions on which it was offered.

At all times Mr. Morse was deeply interested in Jewish communal affairs and public charities. He was the first president of the Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, president of the Leopold Morse Home for Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage, and of the Elysium Club. At one time, he was vice-president of the Boston Home for Incurables and a trustee of the Boston Dental College. He was a Past Master of St. John's Lodge of Masons. In 1907, Mr. Morse married Janet Rosenfeld Conrad.

Mr. Morse's will was typical of his broad and liberal fellowship with every interest in the community. He left generous bequests not only to his friends but to Protestant, Catholic

and Jewish charities, picking out with rare discrimination those with the widest scope of usefulness to the public at large.

Godfrey Morse was a man of generous impulses and good warm fellowship for his fellow men. His friends were legion and scattered all over the country. He had real qualities of leadership and always was to be found in the van of any progressive movement. He was at all times a staunch Jew and made the name of Jew respected wherever he was known.

LEE M. FRIEDMAN.

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LEWIS W. STEINBACH.

To express in words the equation of a man's life is not an easy task. If the man was of that rare class whose personality grows in the constantly increasing estimation of his fellows through years of active work, high thinking, and an exalted idealism, into an accepted asset of public value, his biography is best left to the feelings of those who lived about him; the written record is a less subtle medium and obscures what it would illustrate.

Dr. Lewis W. Steinbach was such a personal force. Attempts to reduce his life to words will mean little to his friends and will not represent him adequately to those who did not come in contact with him. In some of its aspects his life is perhaps a type of that of many Jews, products of the old world and orthodoxy, transplanted in youth, as a sapling, to the shores of the new; springing up there in a new atmosphere, with slightly new outward shaping or adapting to environment, into the same timber of oak, sound and strong, on the sustaining roots of a hardy past.

Lewis W. Steinbach was born June 4, 1851, at Vysoka, Bohemia, the son of Simon and Rosalie (Weiskopf) Steinbach. He was the fifth of seven children, two boys and five girls. His people were of moderate means, his father devoting in characteristic Jewish fashion his whole time to Talmudic



study. To Pribram, a town at some distance from his home, he walked daily, to receive instruction in the public (Catholic) school, part of the teaching being of the catechism by a priest. He also went to school in Prague. It need hardly be said, however, that this did not comprise his whole curriculum. There was always a private teacher in the house, and Lewis studied at his father's knees the Jewish law, literature and tradition in which his father delighted.

At nineteen years of age, in 1870, he came to America, settling in New York, where for some eight or nine months he worked as a bookkeeper at a small wage. He then left New York and came to Philadelphia. He was ambitious and the sound impulses of his home training sent him to the public night school to pursue his studies and fit himself for life in his adopted land. He worked hard in a shoestore and at bookkeeping during the day, still at a modest compensation.

Determining upon the career of a physician, he entered Jefferson Medical College in 1878. His abilities obtained for him the post of librarian of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, which he held during his college career and which afforded him time for his studies. He was graduated from the College in 1880, receiving a prize of a gold medal for the best report of the surgical clinics given by Dr. Richard J. Levis (a distinguished surgeon of the day) at the Pennsylvania Hospital.

Thus begun, his professional career continued auspiciously. He was connected with the Out-Door Service of the Philadelphia Charity Hospital and became an assistant in the Ear Clinic of Dr. Lawrence Turnbull at the Jefferson Medical College, finally becoming chief of the clinic.

Upon the founding, in 1883, of the Philadelphia Polyclinic and School for Graduates in Medicine, Dr. Steinbach became the demonstrator of Dr. Levis, who was one of the Professors of Surgery; later Dr. Steinbach became Adjunct Professor, and finally Professor of Clinical and Operative

Surgery, holding the professorship till his death. He was also secretary, and later president, of the Polyclinic Faculty.

He did important work for surgery in Philadelphia in bringing about the removal of restrictions in obtaining anatomical material, and largely to his efforts was due the passage of a law on the subject by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. He became a member of the State Anatomical Board. About 1885 he was chosen one of the visiting surgeons of the Jewish Hospital; later he was also elected a director; and, both as a member of the staff and the directorate, contributed throughout the rest of his life much to this important institution. Other medical distinctions which came to him may be mentioned. He became visiting surgeon of the Philadelphia General Hospital in 1888, and secretary of its medical staff in 1890. He had the honor to be a Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, and a member, and for some years recorder, of the Philadelphia Academy of Surgery.

Always the student, he made three visits of many months' duration to the great medical centers of Europe for observation and study. Unfortunately his busy life prevented his writing down in books his wide medical knowledge.

His practice grew to large proportions. It was not merely his unusual professional skill and learning; but the fine, quiet personality, sympathetic, kindly, and inspiring confidence, so that his patients were his friends, his loving admirers. His labors were untiring; the demands upon his professional skill left him little or no leisure. In the midst of his extensive duties his services were at the command of the poor, without thought of price. His name was a household word to a large circle of people. He was the successful physician because he was the large-hearted man. These are the bare facts of what may be called his outer life.

Eminent as he was as a physician, he stood before the Jewish community as one to whom Jewish things were as natural as the air he breathed, a prime consideration, a condition of his

being. This was, first, an inheritance, as is normal and right with Jews, and second, a personal development, as is equally normal and right.

The seed of that Jewish interest which was the animating impulse of his life must of course be found in his early studies at his father's side and in the considerable Jewish education, the discipline by which the twig was bent. The inclination progressed with the growth of the man, and never ceased through all the exactions of his busy professional life. No one could doubt that Judaism was his great love. If one thought of Dr. Steinbach it was dominantly as the Jew; as the learned, informed, informing, influencing Jew, indelibly so stamped and minted of pure gold, and ringing true. Thus it was that he affected and invigorated so many weaker Jewish souls about him. He was not a man devoted professionally to Jewish science; he was the active, busy physician standing high among his fellow physicians, and at the same time the always absorbed student of the Bible and Jewish literature, history and lore and current affairs, never wearying of conning over the old fields and acquiring possessions in new ones. Judaism was to him not a burden but a delight, a treasure rich in inexhaustible ore over which he lovingly worked.

His life, in short, was nourished by Judaism and dominantly expressed its distinctive culture. In turn he sustained and vitalized those who looked to him because of his attainments and Jewish ideality as one of the strongest men of the Philadelphia community.

To recount the Jewish organizations he was a member of or active in as director or officer conveys little. He was honorary secretary of the Jewish Publication Society of America; president of the Philadelphia branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; his interest in the Young Men's Hebrew Association continued from the days of his first connection with it—he was a director for years and honorary director at his death. He was a director of the Philadelphia *Kehillah*,

the Jewish Chautauqua Society and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*; he was a member of several congregations, and there was no Jewish movement which sought his support in vain. But others, too, have played useful official parts in communal administration. His hold on the people was not official; it was personal and direct; it grew out of affection and admiration for his traits of loving-kindness and benevolence, esteem for his wisdom and powers of mind; but more than all, it came from a realization, which was general, that he was a Jew whose loyalty to his people and their religion was a bulwark and rock in days of desuetude and confusion in Jewish affairs; that he was a devotee of Jewish learning and a champion and exponent of Jewry's peculiar point of view. A dearly held wish of his life to visit Palestine was accomplished but a short time before his death. He died February 10, 1913.

The community knew him as one of its great men, an example, a personality of positive Jewish values, nay, a personification of them. This will explain the sense of dismay and loss which shook Philadelphia Jewry at his death. Such men are public possessions; when death takes them away, no matter how keenly appreciated before their height, they rise into a still more clearly seen eminence in the perspective of the inner sorrowing vision. It may be ventured that no one in the Philadelphia community was ever more beloved.

One of the most unusual demonstrations of this exceptional regard was a memorial meeting which resulted from the general desire to say publicly what was in all hearts about this man. The meeting was participated in by practically all the large Jewish organizations of the city. Many resolutions of Jewish and medical societies voiced the widespread grief.

A memorial volume is about to be published, and as a fitting tribute to one who was so noble a figure in the community, interested in all its concerns, bound to so many of its people by ties professional and personal and Jewish, a communal

building for the Young Men's Hebrew Association will rise in his memory. His whole life was an enrichment to his fellowmen, and his memory remains a blessing and an inspiration.

ISAAC HASSLER.

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ISIDOR STRAUS.

Isidor Straus was born in Otterberg, Palatinate of Bavaria, February 6, 1845, in the same house in which his father, Lazarus Straus, was born. The Straus family had resided in or near Otterberg for several generations. Isidor was the eldest son of Lazarus Straus, the eldest son of Jacob Straus, who was the eldest of three brothers.

The mother of Isidor Straus was Sarah, the daughter of Solomon Straus, who was the youngest of the three brothers just referred to. The great-grandfather of Mr. Straus was Jacob Lazare, one of the members of the great Sanhedrin, assembled by Napoleon in Paris in 1806, and was one of the select committee of nine to meet the commissioners of the Emperor and prepare the groundwork for their consideration. The Straus family were land owners, who also bought and marketed crops in the neighborhood.

Lazarus Straus, who was active during the German revolution of 1848, found life burdensome after the collapse of that movement and decided to emigrate to America, but on account of family ties, he could not bring himself to take the decisive step until the spring of 1852, when he left Germany alone, and landing in Philadelphia, met a number of former acquaintances, who advised him to try his fortune in the South. He followed this advice, and went to Oglethorpe, Georgia, where he engaged in the business of selling dry-goods and notions to the large and prosperous planters in the vicinity.

Travelling from plantation to plantation with a horse and wagon in the manner of the itinerant merchant in the South of that period, Lazarus Straus happened on Talbotton,



Georgia, a town that made such a favorable impression upon him that he promptly determined to settle there. After renting a store, he made a trip to Philadelphia, where he succeeded in buying on credit a general line of merchandise, and then sent for his family consisting of his wife and four children, who arrived *per* steamer *St. Louis*, on her maiden trip, at New York, September 12, 1854.

The family reached Talbotton some weeks later and Isidor Straus was immediately sent to a preparatory school, which he shortly left to enter Collinsworth Institute, a species of high-school, which was well known throughout the South and attracted students from many states. He attended Collinsworth from 1856 to 1861, when, upon the outbreak of the Civil War, his father's partner having been drafted for the war, he was taken from school to assist in business.

About eighteen months later, when this partner was discharged from the army because of physical disabilities, Lazarus Straus determined to have his son resume his studies, and as most of the high schools and colleges had closed in consequence of the war, young Straus was sent to the Georgia Military Academy, at Marietta, which was the only academic institution that then was in active operation.

A fellow townsman, about to graduate from West Point in '62, had suggested that Isidor apply for the Congressional appointment as his successor, and his choice of the Georgia Military Academy was really intended as a preparation for the West Point Military Academy, but having been subjected to hazing on his first day, he immediately withdrew from the school.

Sometime after the outbreak of the war and after all the eligible men had been drafted, the Talbotton boys organized a company, of which Isidor was elected first lieutenant. This company proffered its services to the Governor of Georgia, who replied that as there were not arms enough to equip the men, it was out of the question to arm the lads.

In 1863 the family removed to Columbus, Georgia. At that time a commercial company had been organized for the purpose of sending an agent to Europe to purchase a vessel for blockade running. This agent selected Isidor Straus as his secretary, and on June 16, 1863, the pair left Columbus for Charleston, and on the night of June 18, ran the blockade for Nassau, going from Nassau to Havana, and thence to New York, and from there to London. Arriving in London, it was found that the purpose of the trip could not be accomplished, whereupon Straus left London for a two months' visit to Otterberg. He returned to London and there secured a position as clerk. During the following two years he spent most of his time in London, making two trips to the continent for special purposes, occupying himself principally in the sale of Confederate bonds in London and Amsterdam. He discovered that Amsterdam offered a market for the sale of these bonds, and as he was the only one to appreciate this opportunity at Amsterdam, he practically enjoyed a monopoly of that business there, and in the course of three months, realized profits therefrom, amounting to about £3000 Sterling.

In 1865 Mr. Straus left Europe for New York to rejoin his parents from whom he had not heard for about two years. Meanwhile, his father Lazarus, realizing the difficulties that would result from the war and having concluded to settle in New York, was *en route* to that city as his son Isidor was nearing it.

On June 1, 1866, the present firm of L. Straus & Sons was established for the merchandising of china and glassware.

On July 12, 1871, Isidor Straus was married at 28 West 38th Street in New York, to Ida, the youngest daughter of Nathan Blün. She was four years younger to the day than her husband, their joint birthdays being on February 6.

Mr. Straus devoted himself exclusively to the china business, and after his brother Nathan had completed his course at a business college, the latter entered the firm. On January 1,

1888, Isidor and Nathan became members of the firm of R. H. Macy & Company, having first established a connection with Macy's in 1871 through the introduction of a china and glassware department. Later he became a member of the firm of Abraham & Straus, a large department store in Brooklyn.

From about 1882 Isidor Straus began to display an interest in public questions, particularly such as related to the tariff, currency reforms and banking, and from time to time went to Washington to testify before the House Committee, when tariff legislation was under advisement. In 1882 he was elected a director of the Hanover National Bank. He was also one of the founders of the Reform Club of New York.

The public spiritedness of Mr. Straus was further manifested in his official connection with and active interest in such institutions as the J. Hood Wright Hospital of New York, of which he was vice-president, the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids, of which he was a director for many years; in his membership in the Chamber of Commerce and as one of the visiting committees of Harvard University.

In January, 1894, when Ashbel P. Fitch was elected Comptroller of the city of New York, Isidor Straus was nominated and thereafter elected to succeed Mr. Fitch in Congress. He was in Congress during the enactment of the Wilson Bill.

Mr. Straus never occupied any other public office except that he was a member of the original commission to construct a bridge over the North River.

It is believed that Mr. Straus was the originator of the idea embodied in Senator Aldrich's currency reform scheme, which sought to make commercial paper the basis for the issuance of bank notes, and in the advocacy of which Mr. Paul M. Warburg has done most effective work.

When the now historic Jewish immigration, following the Russian persecutions, set in, the Jewish heart of Isidor Straus beat in responsive sympathy with his oppressed brethren, and when in 1893, the re-established Educational Alliance of New

York looked about for a leader in the important work of that institution, he was found in the person of Isidor Straus, who assumed its presidency and loyally and zealously labored in its behalf as such until April 14, 1912, when locked in arms with his beloved and devoted wife, they passed into the great beyond with the sinking of the most modern of ocean liners on her initial trip, the ill-fated *Titanic*.

The tragedy and pathos of the death of Isidor and Ida Straus stirred the souls of the civilized world.

The lives of this devoted couple exemplified the finest types of sterling manhood and genuine womanhood; of pure and simple domestic virtues; of loyal American citizenship and of a broad and sympathetic humanity.

SAMUEL GREENBAUM.





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 "Zemah David" (Gans), quoted, 115, 116.  
     alluded to, 119.  
 Zenger, alluded to, 161.  
 Zohar, quoted, 103.  
     alluded to, 104 (note).  
 Zoutman, Admiral, 29.  
 Zürich, University of, 211.





## CONSTITUTION.

### NAME.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

### OBJECTS.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

### MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within

one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

#### OFFICERS.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society.

#### COUNCIL.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

#### AMENDMENTS.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

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<sup>1</sup> This list is corrected to August 1, 1914. Kindly notify the corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

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